THE Spirit of POPERY

Speaking out of the Mouths of

Phanatical-Proteſtants,

OR THE

LAST SPEECHES

OF

Mr. *JOHN KID* and Mr. *JOHN KING*, Two *Presbyterian* Miniſters,

Who were Executed for

HIGH-TREASON and REBELLION,

At *Edinburgh*, *Auguſt* the 14*th*. 1679.

With *ANIMADVERSIONS*, and the *Hiſtory* of the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* his Murder, extracted out of the Regiſters of the Privy-Council, &c.

By an Orthodox Proteſtant.

1 Pet. 4. 15, 16.

But let none of you ſuffer as a Murderer, or as a Thief,---Yet if any Man ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed, but glorifie God on this behalf.

Matth. 23. 13, 16, 17. 27. 31, 32.

Wo unto you Hypocrites, who for a pretence make long Prayers,---- Ye fools, and blind, ye blind Guides, you are like unto beautified Sepulchres, fair without, but full of dead mens bones, and uncleanneſs within. Fill ye up the meaſure of your Fathers, for you are the Sons of them who killed the Prophets.

Luke 11. 49, 50, 51.

Some of them they ſhall Slay, and Perſecute, that the blood of all---- which was ſhed from the blood--- to the blood--- may be required of this Generation.

Matth. 7. 15.

Beware of Falſe-Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps Cloathing, but inwardly are Ravening-Wolves.

Gen. 49. 6.

O my Soul, come not thou into their Secret, nor unto their Aſſembly, for in their anger they Slew a Man.

2 Tim. 3. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Boaſters, Proud, Blaſphemers, Unthankful, Unholy, Falſe-Accuſers, Incontinent, Fierce, Traitors, Heady, High-minded,------ having the outward appearance of Godlineſs, but denying the Power thereof; from ſuch turn away.

Dehinc ut quieſcant porro, moneo, & deſinant maledicere, malefacta ne noſcant ſua.

LONDON,

Printed by *H. Hills*, and are to be Sold by *Walter Kittleby*, at the Biſhops-*head* in *St. Paul's* Church-Yard. 1680.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

THE

PREFACE,

Wherein the Author of the Animadverſions addreſſeth himſelf to the Engliſh-Diſſenters, *eſpecially the* Presbyterians, *and ſhews the* Jeſuitical Tricks *that have been uſed in the former Edition of theſe Speeches.*

IN Writing the Animadverſions upon theſe two treaſonable and blaſphemous Speeches, and the Hiſtory of the Archbiſhops Murder, as a further Commentary upon them; I have had a double regard, to the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Reader, and have conſequently ſaid ſome things in both of them with reſpect to the one, which may ſeem ſuperfluous to the other. The conſideration I had to the former obliged me to cite, and exemplifie many *Scottiſh Acts of Parliament, Orders, and Proclamations* of the King by his Privy-Council; which had been needleſs, but that without them it was not poſſible for any, but a *Scotsman*, fully to underſtand the meaning of thoſe paſſages in the Speeches, to illuſtrate which they are produced. And the conſideration I had to the latter, hath made me inſiſt much on the invalidity of the *Kirk-Miniſtery*, and *the Divine Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy*, in doing of which I have cited the *Latin* Fathers in the *Original*, and the *Greek* in *Latin*, becauſe this Language in *Scotland*, among the men, is almoſt as common as their *Mother-Tongue*.

But beſides thoſe things upon which I have largely inſiſted for the ſake of the one, of which the other had not ſo much need, I have purpoſely inſiſted on other uſeful things upon the common account of both. Particularly I have been elaborat in explaining moſt of thoſe Texs of Scripture which the *two Malefactors* miſapplied to themſelves, or their own Party, and in citing out of the *Kirk-Writers* their *Papal, Jeſuitical, Murderous, Schiſmatical* and *Rebellious Principles*; in doing of which, I proteſt, I have not ſaid the *fourth-part* of what I was able to produce. I have alſo here and there exemplified their Principles with their Practices, and all this I have done without any, at leaſt without any material reflections upon the *Engliſh*-Diſſenters, for whoſe ſake eſpecially I have undertaken this ſmall, but tedious work.

For the conforming part of both Churches generally know enough to make them deteſt the Principles and Practices of our *Jeſuitical Separatiſts*, and ſo will read things of this nature, not ſo much for inſtruction, as delight: and for our *Scottiſh*-Nonconformiſts, eſpecially thoſe of the *Field-Separation*, it would be loſt labour to write Books for them, who lye under as ſtrong a prejudice againſt the *Church-Writers*, as the moſt *bigoted Papiſts*

Papiſts do, and like them are alſo terrified and prohibited by their *Jeſuitical Preachers* from reading of any thing, that is written by an *Orthodox Proteſtant* Pen.

Therefore the principal deſign which I had in Publiſhing all this, was for your ſakes, *O ye Nonconformiſts from our Siſter Church of England*, who have more ingenuity, and who, I cannot but believe, are ignorant of the nature of our Separatiſts, and their Separation, becauſe upon all occaſions, you appear as much concerned for them, as if you thought, that their Cauſe and yours were the very ſame. Did you not take them for a more rational, and innocent Sect than they are, you would, I am confident, be aſhamed to Correſpond with them, who are the ſhame of the *Presbyterian Name*. You would not, if you rightly underſtood them, *Defend their Separation*; *Apologize for their worſt Actions*; * *diſperſe their Calumniating and lying Stories*, *and with your Intereſts and Purſes*, *ſupport their tottering Cauſe*. You would not *defend their unrighteous dealings*; *rail at thoſe*, *who bring them to Condign Puniſhment*, and call their Fineings, Impriſonments, and Executions, *Perſecution*, although they are *Condemned upon the very ſame Account*, *and Suffer for the very ſame Principles and Practices*, for which you rejoyce to ſee the *Papiſts*, but eſpecially the *Jeſuits* Dye, by the Executioners hand.

If you will not believe me, read this little Book, nay, read but the *Speeches*, and the *Hiſtory*, and if you pleaſe let the reſt alone; and then, if you do not find that I Charge them truely, expoſe me in Print for a Calumniator, or Poſt me up for a Knave. But if you find that the *Presbyterian* Sect, of which theſe two Malefactors, and the Archbiſhops Murderers were, profeſs a *Papal Soveraignty* over your Native Prince, and moſt of all the *Doctrines*, if not all, for which the *Jeſuits* are Secluded both Kingdoms by Capital Laws; then I beſeech you, nay, I conjure you, as you would be thought true, and impartial Proteſtants, or, men of common Ingenuity, not to favour, or approve in the *Presbyterian*, what you abhor in the *Popiſh* Prieſts and People; nor to call the Execution of wholſom and neceſſary Laws, *Tyranny* and *Perſecution*, with reſpect to the one, which you declare to be *Laudable Juſtice* on the other. How have both you, and the Conforming-Proteſtants, applauded the Zeal and Juſtice of your Magiſtrates, in Executing your Laws upon the former, and yet you revile and hate thoſe, who Execute our Laws upon the latter, (though their Principles are as incompatible with the Government) and call the *Church-Proteſtants*, *Papiſts*; or ſay, they are *Popiſhly* affected, when you hear them like good Subjects rejoyce at the news of their Defeats, or expreſs their ſatisfaction, that they Suffered, as the nature of their Crimes deſerved.

I ſay, Their Principles are as incompatible with * Government, and the common Security that every man ought to have in Human Societies, and that they would be extirpated out of any Proteſtant Government of the World, (as the *Jeſuits* were once out of *France*, and many other *Popiſh* Countreys) but Ours, and Yours; and yet when a Parcel of them a Year ago, were ſent on Ship-board into the *Thames*, in order to be Tranſported according to Law, you made as great a ſtir about it with the King, and his *Secretary* for this Kingdom, as if they had been the moſt Innocent and Orthodox-Proteſtants in the World. Had they been *Jeſuited Papiſts*, we ſhould all have rejoyced; but had they been ſo many of *either Churches* Communion,

---By ſundry Libellous Pamphlets and moſt falſe and Seditious Diſcourſes ſent from Scotland, and diſperſed purpoſely in this our Kingdom of England, eſpecially in our City of London, that the cauſe of theſe Diſorders is ſought to be ſhifted off the Rebels in Scotland, and moſt unjuſtly caſt upon---- King Charles 1ſt. his leſſer Declarat. 1640. pag. 2.

**Who under the Mask, and Vizard of Religion, ſeek to Subvert all Monarchical, and Civil Government. King Ch. 1ſt. his leſſer Declaration, 1640. p. 3.*

Communion; especially of those, whom you invidiously call *High-flown Church-men*; though in Charity, I believe you would have been sorry for them, yet I doubt, if you would have taken half that pains to prevent their Transportation, have given them half so much Money, or upon their account have cryed out *Tyranny* half so much.

In like manner, when the *Highlanders* about two years since were brought down under the Conduct of their *Chiefs* into those Shires, where at least five parts in six are of this *Jesuitical Sect*; What Tragical outcries did you make at *London*? though if the *Papists* should have kept such frequent, and numerous Field-Conventicles in the *Popish* Shires of *England*, at a time when the Kings Standing Forces were not able to dissipate the tenth part of them; you would have thought it both lawful, expedient, and laudable to have sent Thousands of People from *Protestant* Shires, to Quarter among them for a little while, till other expedients could have been found. You know very well, that the first Discoverer of the *Horrid Popish Plot* hath declared to all the World, That *Jesuits* were sent into *Scotland* about the same time that they began to *Field-Conventicle*, to encourage them to Rebel, and disturb the Ministery of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; and yet you are so confident as to contradict him in this particular, reporting in favour of our *Jesuited Presbyterians*, That there was no need for such a Force to over-rule them, but that they were brought upon them purposely to provoke them to Rebel.

I must also remind you, of the innumerable Lyes you dispersed (I cannot believe you rais'd them) of the *Devastations*, *Murders*, *Robberies*, *Rapes*, &c. committed by the *Highlanders* among those *Presbyterian Jesuits*, though there were as few, and as small disorders committed by them, as ever was by the like number, not only of Soldiers, but Men. For they are not *Barbarians*, as you Styled them, unless it be in the same sence that the *Greeks* and *Romans* called all other People *Barbarous*, that spoke not their Languages, and wore not the *Pall*, and *Gown*. No, I assure you, they are a very Civil, Generous, and Governable People, who committed not half so many, nor so great disorders in that expedition, as the Soldiers, who were levied about the same time in *England*, did about the places where they lay. Did any of them do such a Barbarous action (not to mention others) as that of Captain—— upon Sir *Robert Viners* Daughter? if they did, let it be published, but if they did not, then I beseech you, be not accessory to such lying Stories again. But the Loyal *Highlanders* were from the beginning Malls to the *Covenant* and *Covenanters*, and this is the true ground, why our *Presbyterians* in the first place, and you by contagion from them in the second, hate, and defame them so much.

For the very same reason you are directed by them, to Calumniate the great name of his *Grace* the *Duke of Lauderdale*. The Church is supported upon, and our Pestilent Sectarians crush'd under his *Ministery*, and therefore you Conspire to represent him as a Tyrant, Papist, and what not? Though some of the most Considerable among you, know him to be a man of great Moderation and Piety, and one who abominates *Popery* from his heart.

I think fit also to mind you of the Misrepresentations which you made of the Archbishops Murder, endeavouring to lay it elsewhere than at the door of that Phanatical Party, who brought his *Grace* (as the *Jesuits* have done greater men) to *Ehuds* Dagger, and *Gideons* Sword. I have made

 a True

a True Narrative of it, and of the *Jeſuitical* Principles upon which it was Committed; on purpoſe, that you ſeeing of what manner of Faith, and Spirit this direful Sect are, may Befriend them no longer; but ſhew your ſelves ſincere *Proteſtants*, in abhorring the worſt part of *Popery* in them, aſwel as in *Papiſts* properly ſo called.

Furthermore, I cannot but tell you, that I am very much offended at the ſpiteful manner, after which you have Treated the Church and her Clergy, ever ſince the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh-Plot*. I have ſeen the Narratives of your *Eſſex*, and *Leiceſter-ſhire* Elections, and have read the Books which your Rabbies have lately put out, and comparing them with other Phanatical, ſhall I call them, or *Popiſh* Libels; methinks I find little of the Ancient *Puritan* Spirit among you, but that you have deviated ten times further from their Principles, than the Divines in *Celeuſma* are falſly repreſented to have deviated from the Doctrines of the Church. Nay, to deal plainly with you, you ſeem to have much of the *Covenanting* Spirit among you, and if you ſtop not in time, I am afraid, that as many Acts of Parliament muſt be made in your Countrey for the protection of the Clergy, as have been made in ours. What? are you not aſhamed to Aſſault the Church on one ſide, while the *Papiſts* Storm her on the other? A Church, of all the Reformed, moſt hated by the *Papiſts*, and whoſe Clergy alone hath done much more againſt *Popery*, than the Divines of all Reformed Communions in the World. And yet you are not aſhamed to miſrepreſent this very Clergy to the people for *Papiſts*, or *Popiſhly* affected, a Clergy, whoſe Writings all Foreign Proteſtant Divines ſtudy *Engliſh* on purpoſe to underſtand, and which at this day (praiſed be God for it) can produce more Great men, than the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, put together in the moſt flouriſhing Century, could ever ſhew at a time.

But this is not to act like *Proteſtants*, but *Papiſts*, or whatſoever elſe you will call thoſe, who endeavour to ruine the Fortreſs of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe. And truly while ſome of your leading Diſſenters openly avow, that they are neither *Presbyterians*, nor Independents, *&c.* Nor of any other known name, do they not prompt us to believe, that they may be *Papiſts*, or at leaſt are ſo fond of their own Conceits, as to be of nothing but of themſelves. So *Arius*, was an *Arian*, *Novatus* a *Novatian*, and *Donatus* a *Donatiſt*, and no part of Chriſtendom ever yet wanted men, who had the vanity to affect ſingularity in Opinions of Religion, to Commence *Hereſiarchs*, and become *Chiefs* of a Sect. Thus for example, I know not what Mr. *Baxter* can be called, but a *Papiſt*, or *Baxterian*, he is not of the Church of *England*; it is manifeſt folly, and injuſtice to call him *Papiſt*; He ſaith, He is no *Presbyterian*, *&c.* he muſt therefore like the Founder of an Hereſie, be denominated from himſelf, unleſs he can reduce himſelf to any other denomination Catholick, or Heterodox, that now is, or ever was among Chriſtians, and if he can, let him do us the favour to tell us what it is.

I am likewiſe very much Scandalized at you, for giving the right hand of Fellowſhip to our *Presbyterian Jeſuits*, whom, were you of the Principles of the Ancient Puritans, you would thruſt out of your Synagogues, as ſoon as you knew what they are; ſhould you favour, and Careſs Profeſſed *Jeſuits*, and admit them to your Communions, would it not be reaſonable to ſuſpect, that you were *Jeſuits* your ſelves? and therefore if after this you ſhall own our Covenanting *Hildebrandiſts*, who would ſet

their

their feet on the Necks of Christian Princes, you must excuse us, if we say, that you your selves are such. I am sure should the Bishops, and Clergy of either Church, do but half as much for the *Papists* as you have done for our *Presbyterian Papalines*, you would, and very justly too, proclaim them for *Papists* all over the *Protestant* world. Many of them this day are protected among you, and one of them among you; or which is worse, one of your selves lately *Published these two Treasonable, and Blasphemous Speeches* with so many Tricks, and Falsifications, as none but a *Jesuit*, or *Jesuited Nonconformist* could do.

For first, in the *Title-page* he calls them, *The last Speeches of* &c. *at the place of Execution*, without mentioning the horrid Crimes for which they were Executed; which plainly shews, be he *Scots*, or *English*, that he is one of these *Jesuited Presbyterians*, that counted the late Insurrection no Rebellion, as these two Traytors did amply declare. Also by omitting to mention the Treasons and Rebellion for which they were Executed, he gives the people occasion to think, that they were put to death like Apostles, meerly *for Preaching the Gospel*, though before they engaged in the late Insurrection, they Preached Treason and Rebellion in the Feilds, to Thousands of Armed-men.

In the *6th.* pag. where he saith, that Mr. *King bore his Testimony against the Covenant*, he hath left out these words in which he bore it.

Also I bear my Witness, and Testimony to our Covenants National, and Solemn-League betwixt the Three Kingdoms, which Sacred and Solemn Oath I believe cannot be dispensed with, nor loosed by any person, or party upon Earth, but are fully binding these Nations, and will be so hereafter. And in the *7th.* pag. he hath left out all that follows, Vid. p. 42.

And against all Oaths, and Bonds contrary to our Covenant and Engagements, especially that Oath of Supremacy, the Declaration against the Covenant, and that Bond called the Bond of peace, and that horrid Bond so frequently imposed against the Meetings of his people in Fields, and Houses, intended for the Down-bearing of the Gospel, and Interest of our Lord and Master, with all other Bonds Publick or Private, contrary to our Obligations and Covenants to God; also against all such that Connive at, or Comply with, or strengthen the hands of this Prelatical, Malignant, and Persecuting Party. In the *8th.* page he hath left out all this. Vid. p. 43. 44.

And particularly, I bear my Testimony against that horrid Violation done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by Usurping upon his Royal Prerogatives, and in Spoiling him of his Crown, Sword, Scepter and Royal Robe, by taking those Princely Ornaments to invest a man with, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, through that woful Supremacy so much applauded to, and universally owned, even of such, of whom better things might have been expected, I mean the Indulged, and such as Countenanced them in that way, even to the ruining and renting of the Church, which alas! is too Evident by sad, and doleful experience. Vid. p. 46. 47.

So much for the larger Omissions; but in other places of this Speech, he hath left out as material passages, by which in the *5th.* pag. he hath perverted the Sence; for in this place, *I have been often dissuading from such ways and practices*, [and of this my Conscience bear me Witness, but here I would not have you mistake me, as if I did approve of ways and practices] *contrary to the word of God, and that of our Covenanted Reformed Religion.* He hath left out all betwixt the Hooks. Again, in the Vid. P. 37.

8th. page

Vid. p. 46. 8*th.* page to that Expreſſion, (*to all thoſe who have laid down their lives*) he ſhould have added, as it follows in the true Copy, (*either formerly or of late in the Fields*) So in the 9*th.* page from theſe words, (*provoke the Lord to bring a Sword upon theſe Lands*) he hath taken
Vid. p. 48. away, (*to avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant.*) Laſtly, page 12. in this Expreſſion, *And ſend a Reviving day to the* (Work) *and People of God*, he hath omitted the word (*Work.*)

So much for *Kings* Speech, and the Falſifications are no leſs conſiderable in that of *Kids*; For firſt, he hath Poſtponed the moſt ſcandalous part of his Speech, which he ſpoke a little after the beginning, and put it towards the end.

For what is contained betwixt (*eighthly, as for*, &c.) after (*Harlot Scotland*) page 21. and (*let the Land conſider*) after *Principles and Practices*, page 25. line 3. ſhould have been Printed after all that follows from theſe words, and ſhould have followed on the blank page, to (*reflection upon any*) page 27. line 19. as may be ſeen by conſulting the Sixth. and Eleventh Pages of this Edition, which is ſufficiently proved by theſe words, (*in the cloſe as a dying perſon*) at the bottom of the Sixteenth Page of this Edition, which uſher in his laſt words.

The reaſon is plain, why he put the moſt poyſonous part at the latter end, *viz.* That the common Reader, who might have ſpit it out again at firſt, might take it down without ſcruple, after his palate had been prepared with all he had unwarily ſwallowed before.

But this had not been ſo great a fault, had he Printed it all; but he hath left out all that *Treaſonable*, *Papal*, *Rebellious*, *Jeſuitical* ſtuff from theſe words, (*his Servants and People*) page 7. line 17. in this Edition, to (*and moreover*) page 10. line 35. which I deſire the Reader to conſult. But beſides this great omiſſion, he is guilty of ſeveral others,
Vid. p. 6. which ought to be obſerved. For page 25. line 6. after (*cake not turned*) he hath left out, (*which is upon the matter contrary to, and inconſiſtent with our ſolemnly Sworn Covenant*) and after (*Reformation*) l. 18. he hath omitted (*according to our Sworn Covenant*;) and page 22. at
P. 6. the bottom, inſtead of (*Remember their Sworn Covenant*) he hath ſaid (*Remember their former Obligations*;) ſo likewiſe page 24. line 1. he hath put down (*Abetters of that Contention*) inſtead of (*The late*
P. 16. *Convention of Eſtates.*)

The Jeſuitical Publiſher of theſe Jeſuitical Speeches, muſt needs be a *Presbyterian*, becauſe none of the other Sectaries would concern themſelves ſo much for the *Covenant*, *Kirk-Seſſions*, and *Presbyteries*; nay, it is moſt probable that he is a *Covenanting Presbyterian of the Field-Sort*, and therefore I cannot but exhort you, who are the more moderate, and better Principled Diſſenters of that Denomination, to beware of ſuch, and to endeavour to find out this particular Sophiſticator, and when you have diſcovered him, to purge him out of your Synagogues, as a dangerous piece of Jeſuitical Leven; or, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the *Corinthian* Fornicator, to put him away from among your ſelves, as you tender your Reputation, and would have us believe you are ſound Proteſtants, and not of the ſtamp of our Jeſuitical *Whigs*.

I cannot forbear to preſs this advice upon you with paſſion, for if you beware not betimes of theſe *Dogs* of our *Conciſion*, your Societies will

will ſhortly be incurably leavened with their Rebellious and Murderous *Jeſuitical* Doctrines, which in a little time will influence your practices, and *impulſe* you like them to March into the Field. If you take not ſpeedy care, they will put you upon *Jeſuitical* Projects; ſet up a Cauſe, and Intereſt among you, which ſhall be dearer to you than that of the Publick, and bring you under another Government, beſides that of your Prince. There was a Project of that *Jeſuitical* nature, attempted by ſome of your Principals about four or five years ago, when ſome of your Miniſters and others Caballed together about reducing the *Presbyterians* (Whether over *England* only, or over all the three Nations, I do not well remember) into the ſame ſort of Policy, by which the *Jeſuits* are Governed over all the world. The Nation was to be divided into Diſtricts, or *Provinces*; every Diſtrict was to have its *Provincial*, and over all the Provinces was to be appointed one *General* to reſide conſtantly (as I remember) in *London*; and the firſt, who was to have the Honour of that Office, (like the Founder of the *Jeſuits*) had been a Soldier, and a great Maleſactor, and is alſo fit to be General of an Army, and preſided in that Conſult. He is a Gentleman whom you all know, and makes a great part of a late Narrative, wherein the impudent Narrator implicitly calls you the *moſt Sober and conſiderable Proteſtants of the Land.* The Provincials in their ſeveral *Diſtricts*, were to take an account of the growth or decay of the Party, to note their friends and enemies, to receive their Contributions, and give an account of all to the General, who was to ſuperviſe for the good of the whole. This account, with which I am confident I do not ſurpriſe ſome of you, was told me upon condition of Secrecy, by a very honeſt and peaceable, but Rigid *Presbyterian* Miniſter, our Countreyman, who having got notice of the Conſult, broke it in the beginning, by telling the Projectors how he abhorred it, and threatning to diſcover it, if they did not deſiſt. He told me alſo, that he believed the Project came firſt from the deſigned General, who intended by that means to raiſe his broken Fortunes, which if he had accompliſhed, he might eaſily have done.

And to do his Memory Juſtice, he told me this Story with very great indignation; the ſubſtance of which, (as I ſhall anſwer for it to God at the day of Judgement) I have faithfully related (to the beſt of my memory) upon the Faith of a Chriſtian Man. I have told you this, not to upbraid you, but with an honeſt deſign to make you take the greater care not to conform your ſelves to the *Jeſuitical* example of our *Remonſtrator Field-Presbyterians*, who alſo have ſuch a ſecret policy (*imperium in imperio*) among themſelves. And I hope you will hereafter deteſt them for the ſake of their *Jeſuitical* Principles and Practices, that ſo you may not by inſenſible degrees grow like them in either or both, but eſpecially in Violence, Cruelty, and Inhumanity, and ſo make your Biſhops and their Clergy like ours, dread you as much as they dread the worſt of *Papiſts*, and think it indifferent whether they fall by the *Popiſh*, or *Presbyterian* hands. There is no great difference in the choice between a *Clement* and a *Melvil*, a *Ravillac*, and a *Mitchel*, Hanging 50 Cubits high, or Burning, a Jail, and the Inquiſition, or between being perſecuted to any degree, or in any kind, as an *Heretick* by *Papiſts*, or as a *Papiſt* by *Presbyterians*, &c. as an enemy to the *Church* by thoſe, and as an enemy to *Chriſt*, and the *Goſpel* by thoſe.

SIRE,

Voſtre Majeſté (eſtant l'aſyle & ſanctuaire des Princes & Eſtats affligéz) nous avons trouvé neceſſaire d'envoyer ce Gentilhome le Sieur de Colvil, *pour repreſenter à V. M. la candeur & naiveté tant de nos actions & procedures, que de nos intentions, leſquelles nous deſirons eſtre gravées & eſcrites à tout l'univers avec un ray du Soleil, auſſy bien que V. M. Nous vous Supplions doncques treſhumblement (Sire) de luy adjouſter foy & creance, & a tout ce qu'il dira de noſtre part, touchant nous & nos affaires, eſtant treſaſſeurés (Sire) d'une aſſiſtance eſgale a Voſtre clemence accouſtumée cydevant, & ſi ſouvent monſtrée a ceſte Nation, laquelle ne cedera la gloire á nutre quelconque d'eſtre eternellement,*

Sire,

de V. M.

Les treſhumbles & treſobeyſſants & treſſaffectionnés Serviteurs,

Rothes. Montroſe. Leſlie. Mar. Montgomery. Loudoun. Forreſter.

Engliſhed thus:

SIR,

YOur Majeſty being the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it neceſſary to ſend this Gentleman Mr. *Colvil*, to repreſent unto Your Majeſty the candor and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we deſire to be engraved and written to the World with a beam of the Sun, as well as your Majeſty. We therefore moſt humbly beſeech You (Sir) to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he ſhall ſay on our part, touching us and our affairs, being moſt aſſured (Sir) of an aſſiſtance equal to Your wonted clemency heretofore, and ſo often ſhewed to this Nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatſoever to be eternally,

Sir,

Your Majeſties moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt affectionate Servants,

Rothes. Montroſe. Leſly. Mar. Montgomery. Loudoun. Forreſter.

Texts of Scripture; which the *Presbyterian* Preachers Blaſphemouſly miſapplied to the *Solemn League and Covenant.*

2 Kings 11. 17.

AND Jehojada *made a Covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the People, That they ſhould be the Lords People, between the King alſo, and the People.*

Iſaiah 44. 5.

One ſhall ſay, I am the Lords, another ſhall be called by the name of Jacob, *and another ſhall Subſcribe with his hand unto the Lord.*

Joſh. 24. 25.

So Joſhua *made a Covenant with the People the ſame day, and gave them an Ordinance and Law in* Sichem.

Deut. 29. 25. Jerem. 22. 8, 9.

Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land, and to this great City? Then Men ſhall ſay, Becauſe they have forſaken the Covenant of the Lord God of their Fathers, which he made with them, when he brought them out of the Land of Egypt.

2 Chron. 34. 31, 32.

And the King ſtood in his place, and made a Covenant before the Lord, &c.

1 Chron. 16. 15.

Be ye mindful always of his Covenant.

Jerem. 11. 2, 3.

Speak unto the men of Judah, *and Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *and ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord the Lord God of* Iſrael, *Curſed be the man, that obeyeth not the words of this Covenant.*

With many more which occur in their Writings. See Note (w.) on the firſt Speech.

ERRATA.

Page 37. line 29. *for* Twenty two *read* Twelve; on the Title-page of the *Narrative*, for 1669. read 1679

THE

XLIV

THE

LAST SPEECH

OF

Mr. John Kid.

With Annotations thereupon.

Right Worthy and Well-beloved Spectators,

CONsidering what bodily distempers I have been exercised under, since I came out of the [a] *Torture*, being scarce two hours out of my Naked Bed in one day, it cannot be expected that I can be in a Capacity for saying any thing to purpose in such a Juncture, especially seeing I am not as yet free of it; However I cannot but Reverence the good hand of God for good upon me, and desire with all my soul

[a] Which was applied to him to make him Confess his Accomplices in the Rebellion, and answer to such Questions, as Authority asked him in order to the perfect discovery of it; which before he was brought to the *boot* (for that is the name of the Instrument of Torture) he *Jesuit-like* refused to do. Contrary to the manner of the Primitive Christians (to whom the Rebellious Covenanters are blasphemously compared *in the Apology for the persecuted Ministers, and Professors* of the *Presbyterian reformed Religion* Printed 1677.) of whose behaviour at the criminal Tribunals *Tertullian* writing in his first *Apolog.* saith, That it was their Custom freely to Confess when they were examined by Authority. *Christianus vero——si denotatur gloriatur, si accusatur non defendit, interrogatus vel ultro confitetur.* But the † Rebellious Covenanters quite contrary, when they are required by his Majesties Authority to declare either simply, or upon Oath, what they know of Rebellious *Field-meetings*, and the persons who were present at them, and disorders done therein, are wont to give either shifting Equivocating Answers, or else not to answer at all, contrary to their Allegiance as Subjects, and in contempt of the lawfull Powers, and of God who hath ordained them, but exactly according to the Doctrine of the *Jesuits in the Rhemish notes on the New-Testament* Acts. 23. which say. *If thou be put to an Oath to accuse Catholicks for serving of God as they ought to do, or to utter any innocent man to Gods enemies, and his, thou oughtest first to refuse such unlawfull Oaths; but if thou hast not Constancy and Courage so to do, know thou that such Oaths bind not at all in Conscience, but may, and must be broken under the pain of Damnation.*

† 2d. *Act of the* 2d. *Session of the* 2d. *Parl. of* Charles *the* 2d. *began at* Edinb. July 28. 1670.

to bleſs him for this my [b] *preſent Lot*. It may be there are a great many here that judg my Lot very ſad and deplorable. I muſt confeſs death in it ſelf is very terrible to fleſh and blood; but as it is an out-let to ſin, and an in-let to righteouſneſs, ſo it is the Chriſtians great and unexpreſſible priviledg: and give me leave to ſay this, that there is ſomething in a Chriſtians condition, that can never put ſin without the reach of unſufferableneſs, even Death, Shame, and the Croſs being encloſed; and if there be Peace betwixt God and the Soul, there is nothing that can damp peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is a moſt ſupporting ingredient in the bittereſt Cup, and under the Sharpeſt and [c] *firyeſt Trial* he can be expoſed unto. This is my mercy, that I have ſome-what of this to lay claim to, *viz.* [d] *Intimations of Pardon and Peace* betwixt God and my Soul: and as concerning that for which I am Condemned, I magnifie his grace, that I never had the leaſt

[b] As if this Rebellious *Pſeudo-Miniſter*, who helped to Preach eight or nine thouſand Subjects into arms againſt their Lawful Sovereign, Suffered for the ſame Cauſe as did the Bleſſed Apoſtles, who rejoyced that they were counted Worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt. *Acts.* 5. 41.

[c] There is nothing more common, than for theſe Presbyterian Miniſters (falſely ſo call'd) to delude the poor people by abuſive Applications of, and alluſions to the paſſages of the Holy Scriptures, after the manner of the *Jeſuits*. Thus he by this expreſſion of the *Fiery-Trial*, gives them occaſion to conſider, the Fineings, Impriſonments, and execution of the Rebels, as a Perſecution; which as Fire tries *true* from *falſe Gold*, would diſtinguiſh Sincere from Hypocritical Chriſtians, *i. e.* thoſe who would Suffer for *Chriſts Soverainty*, and *the Solemn League and Covenant*, from thoſe who would deſert both. As if a Conſpiracy againſt the Apoſtolical Government of the Church Univerſal for above 1500 years (for ſo the Covenant deſerves to be called) could Juſtifie, ſhall I ſay, or Sanctifie an Inſurrection of Subjects againſt their Soverign (which the defence of the Chriſtian name cannot juſtifie by the Goſpel) and by conſequence make the Legal Fineings, Impriſonments, and Tranſportations of incorrigible Rebells *Perſecution*, their executions by Axes and Halters *Martyrdom*, and themſelves *Martyrs* for the holy Jeſus, the Prince of Peace, who will not have even the very being of his Church and Goſpel defended by the *Subjects* Sword.

[d] It cannot reaſonably be denied, but that God hath ſometimes irradiated the Souls of Confeſſors, and Martyrs at the time of their Sufferings, and begot within their hearts ſuch a ſecret ſenſe of his favour, as hath made them Sing in their torments, and rejoyce at death: but this is a very extraordinary, and unpromiſed favour, and given like the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, but to ſome of thoſe, who have truly ſuffered for the Cauſe of Chriſt.

But for ſuch a *Malefactor* as this, who lived in a ſtate of Rebellion againſt his Sovereign, and whoſe whole imployment was to Preach his Subjects into Rebellion againſt him, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Presbyterian Diſcipline, of which the whole Church of God was utterly ignorant for almoſt 16 Ages: I ſay, for ſuch a Rebel as this to pretend to ſuch ſecret ſignifications of Pardon from Gods Spirit at the hour of execution, when in the next words he declares his utter impenitence for his crime, can be nothing but a *deluſion of Satan*, or an effect of the ſame *Enthuſiaſm*, which makes them pretend to Praying and Preaching by Inſpiration, and other gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.

[c] *Challenge*, but on the contrary judge it my honour that ever I was counted worthy to be Staged upon ſuch a Conſideration. 3*ly*. Another thing that renders the Deſpicable lot of the Chriſtian Superable, is, that there is a felt

[e] Behold good people how like a *Jeſuit* he ſpeaks. He acknowledges that he never had the leaſt remorſe, or accuſation of Conſcience for his Treaſons and Rebellions, but counted it his honour to die under the name of a Traitor and Rebel, for that *Many-headed Pope* the Presbyterian Government, which as the Kirk-men Teach, is the Royal Scepter of Chriſt.

and

and [f] *Senſible preſence from the Lords ſtrengthening* the Soul when moſt put to it; and if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to ſay, *O death where is thy Sting*, and could not but cry out Welcome to it and all that follows upon it; I grant the Lord by an Act of Sovereignity may go and come as he

[f] That God alſo was ſometimes wont to give unto his Martyrs the *Spirit of Fortitude* at the hour of death, as a ſign that they were ſupported by him, and by conſequence ſuffered for him, is plain from the Holy Scriptures, and both *Jewiſh*, and *Chriſtian* Martyrologies; and therefore this wretch pretends here to this Sign alſo, that he might ſeem to die not a deplorable, as he ſpeaks, but a glorious death, *i. e.* not as a Malefactor, but as a Martyr. But yet becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf how timerous he appeared, notwithſtanding all the Brandy and Cordials which he had drank, he ſpeaks ambiguouſly about it, telling the people *he had ground to believe*, that more, or leſs *God would perfect his own ſtrength in his weakneſs*; certainly he meant that God would yet put forth his glorious power in a greater degree in him, ſo that it ſhould become more appurent to the Spectators, before he was turn'd off the Ladder, than at the moment when he ſpoke.

pleaſes, but yet he will never [g] *forſake* his people, and this is a Cordial to me in the caſe I am now expoſed unto; the exerciſing and putting forth of his glorious Power is able to Tranſport the Soul of the believer and mine above the reach of all ſublunary difficulties; and therefore ſeeing I have hope to be kept up by his power, I would not have you look upon my Lot, or any other that is, or maybe in my caſe, in the leaſt deplorable, ſeeing we have ground to believe that more or leſs he will perfect his power and ſtrength in weakneſs.

That I may come a little to the purpoſe in hand, I declare before you all in the ſight of God, Angels and Men, and in the ſight of the ſun and all that he has Created, that I am a

[g] There are many Texts in the Old-Teſt. which ſpeak of *Gods forſaking*, and *not forſaking* his people the *Jews*, and the Kings, whom he ſet over them, as his *Viceroys*; which are all to be underſtood in a *Political* ſenſe. Thus 1 *Sam.* 12. 22. Saith the Prophet Fear not, for the Lord will *not forſake his people*, for his great names ſake, becauſe it hath pleaſed the Lord to make you his people. So 2 *Kings* 21. 13, 14. I will (ſaith God) *Stretch over Jeruſalem the line of* Samaria, *and I will wipe it as a man wipeth a diſh——and I will forſake the remnant of my inheritance.* So Pſal. 94. 14. *The Lord will not caſt off his people, nor forſake his inheritance.* So Pſal. 71, King *David* prays God his rock and fortreſs to deliver him from the hand of his enemies, *and not to forſake him*, i. e. not to lay him aſide in his old age, till he had ſhewn his ſtrength to the generation in which he lived, and his power to every one that was to come. So alſo he prays God in the 51 *Pſal. not to caſt him away from his preſence*, as he did *Saul*, *nor to take his holy Spirit from him*, by which he was enabled to Govern his people. For God was wont to ſend his Spirit in viſible impreſſions upon all thoſe, whom he called to judge and Govern his people, as upon † *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Jephtha*, *Samſon*, and *Saul*, whom *Samuel* told, when he was to be made King, that *the Spirit of the Lord ſhould come upon him for a Sign, and that he ſhould Propheſie, and be turned into another man.* 1 *Sam.* 10. 6, 9. And at King *Davids* inauguration 'tis expreſly ſaid, 1 *Sam.* 26. 13. that Samuel *took the horn of oyl, and anointed* David *in the midſt of his Brethren, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon him from that day forward*; this was the *Spirit of Government*, which conſiſted in a mighty power and impulſe to do brave Heroical actions, and carried along with it all the Royal qualifications, that a man ought to have, whom God was pleaſed to call to the *Helm*. *Maimonides* calls it the *Spirit of Fortitude*, but he might as well have called it the *Spirit of Wiſdom, and Counſell*, for it fitted the perſons upon whom it came in all points for the Royal Office, and the Collation of it in viſible impreſſions upon them was a Sign to the people that they were Authorized, and Commiſſioned by God. And therefore King *David* after the matter of *Uriah*, for which he deſerved to be rejected, like *Saul*, prays God in a moſt penitential manner, not to caſt him away from his preſence, nor take away the Spirit of Government from him,

† *Judges* 3. 10. 6. 34. 11. 29. 13. 25.

which he had inſtead of a ſtanding Commiſſion from God. Upon theſe, and ſuch like Texts, which are to be underſtood in a Political ſence, hath been founded the Doctrine of *Spiritual deſertion* or *the comings and goings of God from the Soul*, which hath been as uſefull an engine for the Miniſters falſely ſo called, to take faſt hold on the Souls, and Purſes of their Melancholick Diſciples, as the Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, and Abſolution hath been to the *Romiſh Prieſts*, of taking hold of the Souls and Purſes of theirs. For when a man oppreſſed with Melancholy, or Melancholick Doctrines, ſhall in his fits of dejection think himſelf deſerted by God, will he not admire and reverence the very Shadow of that holy man whoſe Prayers ſhall prevail with God to return unto him again? And then after the receſs of the Melancholick fit, which he is taught to believe is the comfortable return of the Spirit, he cannot but be very liberal to him, by whoſe powerfull interceſſion he hath received ſuch a Divine benefit, a bleſſing better than life it ſelf. I deny not but that God may ſometimes beget Supernatural joy in the ſoul of an holy man, by impreſſing upon him a ſecret ſenſe of his love, and likewiſe kindle the flames of Hell in the Conſcience of a ſinner, by impreſſing on his ſoul a ſecret ſenſe of his wrath: But theſe are extraordinary ways of dealing with men, of which the Scriptures are ſilent; but he can no more impreſs the ſenſe of his wrath upon the ſpirit of a gracious, then the ſenſe of his love upon the ſpirit of a graceleſs Chriſtian, nor ſecretly contribute to enſlave, and torment the Conſciences of good men with horrour, or unreaſonable jealouſies and fears. Indeed nothing is more plainly taught in the Holy Scriptures than this; that God gives his holy Spirit of *aſſiſting grace*, or which is all one, the gracious aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit to men, and upon certain provocations takes it from them again: and this is the only Scriptural deſertion, and the only ſence in which that word ought to be uſed. Away then with thoſe Canting Phraſes of Gods Going, and Coming to the ſoul in fits of ſupernatural joys and fears, with which the Coiners of the Doctrine of deſertion teach, that the ſouls of holy Men are now tranſported, and then preſſed down as it were to Hell.

moſt [h] *miſerable ſinner*, by reaſon of my original and actual trangreſſions, I muſt confeſs that they are more than the hairs of my head, that they are gone over my head, and altogether paſt reckoning, I cannot but ſay as *Jacob* ſaid, I am leſs than the leaſt of Gods mercies, yet I muſt declare to the Commendation of

[h] Yes a Rebell, a Schiſmatick, a Blaſphemous interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, an uſurper of the Miniſtery, who was guilty of all the blood which was ſhed under the Kings Standard on one ſide, and the Banner of Chriſt, as the Rebels in their Declaration Blaſphemouſly called their Standard on the other. But theſe are not the ſins, which he confeſſeth here, but ſins of another complexion; and indeed it is almoſt impoſſible to have any reputation for holineſs in the Kirk, unleſs a man hath been a great ſinner, and Converted as St. *Paul* really was, and this Wretch pretends to have been, *by a ſtrong hand*, i. e. *tout d'un coup*, in a ſudden miraculous manner. So that if a good Chriſtian cannot tell the time, and place, and other circumſtances of his Converſion, he ſhall ſtill be looked upon as little better than an unregenerate man, though he be never ſo Moral and unblamable in his life. As if it were impoſſible for men to be good from their Childhood, or unſcriptural to date their regeneration from the Font.

the [i] *freedom of his grace that to me*

[i] The word *Grace* proceeds from the Latin word *Gratia*, by which the ancient Latin Church rendered χάρις whereby the Greek Tranſlators rendred *Hhen*, and *Hheſed*, whereof the former ſignifies *Favor*, *Kindneſs*, *Love*, *Merty*, *Pity*, *Benevolence*, and the latter as *Maimonides* (More Nev. part 3. c. 53) obſerves, ſignifies a *free benefit*, or *gratuitous favor*, which is done to a perſon that was altogether unworthy of it, or elſe a greater favor and benefit, than the perſon on whom it is beſtowed deſerves. In which ſences he ſaith it is oppoſit to *Tzedakah* which both ſignifies juſtice, and the due, which juſtice gives to every man In this ſence St. *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 3. 24. That we are juſtified *freely* by his *Grace*, and not by works, or perfect ſinleſs obedience, becauſe then the reward would be reckoned not of *Grace* but of *debt*, or Juſtice. Accordingly the *freedom* of Gods grace conſiſts in the gratuitous redemption of the world through Jeſus Chriſt, which was a meer favor, or ſuch a benefit as mankind was altogether unworthy of, and which God in juſtice

was

was not bound to do. I ſay it conſiſts in the gratuitous redemption of all mankind, and not in the arbitrarious calling and election of this, and that particular man, as this Kirk-Preacher here ſuggeſts. So that when a man ſpeaks of the free Grace of God, in reference to his own particular, if he ſpeak Orthodoxly, he ought to be underſtood of his own ſhare in the general free redemption, and not of the free Grace of God in ſaving of him, and reprobating or paſſing over others, which is the Kirk and Kirkers uſual ſence of *free grace*, according to the Aſſemblies larger and ſhorter Catechiſms, which they have *Homologated* for their own. But this is ſtrange Divinity, and unworthy of the Divine Nature, which Phancys God out of meer willfulneſs and oſtentation of his *Soveranity*, to pluck one man out of the fire and leave another, as capable of his mercy, to burn eternally therein. God indeed is a moſt Abſolute *Sovereign*, but then, as *Cicero* ſaith in his Books of Laws, he is *infinita mens & ratio*, and his Abſolute Soveranity is under the Government and regulation of his infinite Wiſdom, which is utterly uncapable of Fondneſs, and Antipathy, or the unaccountable loving of this, and hating of that particular perſon, and muſt needs reſtrain him from Arbitrary ways of dealing with his rational creatures, *Angels* and *men*.

who am the leaſt of [k] *Saints* was his grace made known, and that by a ſtrong hand, and dare not but ſay that he hath loved me and waſhed me in his own blood from all mine iniquities; and well is me this day, that ever I heard or read that Faithful ſaying, *That Jeſus Chriſt came to the world to ſave ſinners, of whom I am the chief.*

2*ly*. I muſt declare in his ſight, that I am the moſt unworthy that ever opened a Mouth, to Preach the inſearchable riches of Chriſt in the Goſpel; yea the ſenſe of this made me altogether unwilling to ſet about ſo great a work, until by the importunity of ſome (whoſe name is ſavory to me and many others) I was prevailed with to fall about it, and howbeit out of great weakneſs I went about it, yet I am hopefull, not altogether without [l] *fruit*, and if I durſt ſay it without vanity, I never found ſo much of the [m] *preſence of God* upon my ſpirit, as I have found in exerciſes of this nature, though I muſt ſtill confeſs attended with unexpreſſible weakneſs; [n] *and this is the main thing for which I muſt lay down my tabernacle this day*, viz. *that I did Preach Chriſt and the Goſpel* in ſeveral places of this Nation, for which I bleſs him, as I can, that ever ſuch a poor and obſcure perſon as I am, ſhould be thus priviledged by him for mentionmaking of his grace,

k Such a Saint as the Primitive Chriſtians never heard of, nor all Antiquity can ſhew.

l Very true, for his Country ſaw the *fruits* of his, and his Brethrens Miniſtery, in numberleſs Rendeſvouzes of Rebellion, and at laſt in a Covenanted Army in the Field.

m Here the Enthuſiaſt Blaſphemouſly miſcalls the irregular *heat* of his Phancy elevated in Preaching, the curſed *Zeal* with which he Preached, and the ſenſual *pleaſure and ſatisfaction* which he took to ſee himſelf crouded about with *troops* of Auditors in the Field, the *preſence of God upon his ſoul.*

n Here like a *Jeſuit* he pretends to Suffer upon a Religious account, though he really ſuffer'd as a Diſturber of the Government, and as a Traitor and Rebel to the King. He ſuffer'd not for Preaching, but for Preaching in arms, and among armed-men, who aſſembled themſelves on Stated days every week againſt the Law, and defended their Aſſemblies by force of Arms. Or if he ſuffer'd for Preaching, it was not for Preaching Chriſt and the Goſpel, but for Preaching up Rebellion, which is contrary to both. For Preaching againſt the Eſtabliſhed Government and the Laws. For railing in their Preaching againſt the King and his Counſellors, telling the people that he was guilty of Perjury, and had no right to Govern, and that they endeavoured to drive Chriſt out of the Kingdom. Laſtly, for Preaching up the *Covenant*, and the *Presbyterian Govern-*

as I was able. 3*ly*. Give me leave to add this word further, that though there be great appearances of ſpreading and Preaching this glorious Goſpel, yet I fear there is a ſnare at the bottom, and poyſon in the diſh, which may gender and be productive of not only greater ſcarcity of honeſt Preachers and Preaching, but a real Famine of the Word, this I ſay is my fear, and I hope God will keep his [o] *Servants and people* from fomenting any thing to the detriment of the Goſpel. I am afraid that the Lord is beginning to multiply his ſtripes upon this Land. we have walked [p] *Seven times* contrary to him and therefore we may lay our account (unleſs repentance prevent it) that he will walk ſeven times contrary to us: there is more and more ground to fear that there is a [q] *Sword bathed* in heaven, a glittering Sword ſharpened and furbiſhed againſt thee O guilty and Harlot *Scotland*; let this Land conſider how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the [r] *matters of God*, even like *Ephraim* long ago a Cake not turned, which is upon the matter Contrary to, and inconſiſtent with our Solemnly ſworn Covenant; next how far are we fallen from our [s] *firſt Love*? How far are we degenerate from that noble Vine into which the Lord did once Plant us? How lamentable it is, How far we have gone the way to [t] *Egypt*, drinking the waters of *Sihor*? Again What a woful Spirit of bitterneſs is predominating in this Land? and in this Age [u] *Ephraim vexing Judah*, and *Judah Ephraim*, *Manaſſeh Ephraim* and *Ephraim Manaſſeth*; the growing doggedneſs of this temper almoſt amongſt all, portends terrible things from the Lord againſt this Land. 4*ly*. Reformation according to our ſworn Covenants is neither deſigned nor practiſed. What means all this deformation that is come to paſs in theſe days inſtead of the Contrary? How many of us have been Pulling down

ment, of which they aſſert the ſame things as *Prieſts and Jeſuits* do of the *Pope*.

o *i. e.* The Kirk-Miniſters and people from ſeeking, or accepting of any *indulgence* from the King. For to Preach by leave and permiſſion from the King, is to grant that Miniſters depend on the Secular power for the actual exerciſe of their Miniſtery, and ſuppoſeth that they may receive limitations and reſtrictions from the Magiſtrate, which is utterly inconſiſtent with that independent Authority which they derive immediately from the King in *Sion*, and deſtructive of his *Supremacy*, *Kingdom*, *Crown*, and *Scepter*, as may plainly be ſeen from Mr. *Browns Jeſuitical* Letter, Printed at the end of theſe two Speeches, and the Apology.

p *i. e.* Several times contrary to him in ſetting up Epiſcopacy.

q Well threatned.

r *i. e.* In the matter of the *Covenant*.

s *viz.* Our love for the Presbyterian Diſcipline.

t *viz.* Epiſcopacy.

u *viz.* The indulged Miniſters againſt the Field-Preachers, ſuch as *Welſh*, *Kid*, *King*, *Cameron*, *&c.* and the Field-Preachers againſt the indulged Miniſters; who hold, that as long as they are not ſubjected to the Biſhops, it is not againſt their Solemn League and Covenant, nor inconſiſtent with the Miniſterial Authority, nor deſtructive to Chriſts Soverainity, to accept of a limited indulgence from the State. And therefore they were content to be obliged not to Preach without their Pariſhes, not to Baptize Children of other Pariſhes, nor to engage Parents at the Baptiſm of their Children, to bring them up according to the Solemn League and Covenant, nor to Preach againſt the Government of the Church or State, and to obſerve the 29*th*. of *May*. *&c.*

down that which we have been building up? how many of us call good evil, and evil good, diſſowning and diſſavouching that which ſometime we judged our honour to teſtifie for and avouch? 5ly. A Publick Spirit in contending for God and his matters, in ſubſtance and Circumſtances according to our vows and obligations, is much amiſſing amongſt us at this day. Further I am preſſed in Conſcience to make mention of all thoſe great and glorious things that God hath done in *Scotland* ſince the year 1640. and 1641. the aboundant meaſure of his Spirit that was poured out upon his ſervants and people, and the renewing of that National Covenant twice in that year, and once in the year following, the Bleſſed efficacy that the Goſpel had at that time in all the Corners of the Land, & the great things that followed upon it which while improven, made our Land moſt deſirable. * 2ly. *I bear my Teſtimony to the Solemn League and Covenant, as* it was Profeſſed & Sworn in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, in the year 1643. Yea as it was timed and taken by the Repreſentatives and Body of theſe 3 Lands, which tie is binding and can by no power on Earth be infringed, whether Secular or Eccleſiaſtical, and that it was our glory to be counted a people *married* to the Lord: we and ours from one generation to another, from henceforth and for ever; ſo that Prelacy as it is now Eſtabliſhed by a pretended Law, is deſtructive down-rightly to the Sworn Covenants, yea not only

* The Solemn League and Covenant, is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of the Kirk-Doctrines and Cauſe. Hence they commonly call it the *Holy* League and Covenant, as both the *Pope* and *Jeſuits* called its Prototype, the League of the *Papiſts* in *France*; and as the *Pope* compared the Duke of *Guiſe* to *Judas Maccabæus*, and the *Jeſuits* to *Gideon*. (Davila lib. 9.) So the Kirk-Preachers taught, that the Lords who began the Deſign of the Covenant, acted like the *Jewiſh* Worthys in promoting of it, and were moved and directed ſo to do by the ſecret motions of the Spirit of God. In the beginning of the Covenant, they ſet up one Mrs. *Mitchelſon* a *Miniſters* Daughter for a Propheteſs, who pretended to be Inſpired with a Spirit of *Divination*, and ſhe ſaid, that it was revealed to her by God, that their Covenant was approved by him, and ratified in heaven, and Mr. *Henry Rollock* a Covenanting-Miniſter being deſired to pray with her, anſwered he durſt not, becauſe it would not be good manners in him to ſpeak, while his Maſter Chriſt was Speaking in her, and yet at length ſhe openly confeſſed, that ſhe was an Impoſtor, and that the *Miniſters* told her in private what ſhe ſhould ſpeak. The Author of *Naphtali*, pag. 240. brings in Mr. *Hugh Mackail* a Rebel-Preacher ſaying, *Whatever indignity is done to the Solemn League and Covenant, I eſteem it no leſs than doing deſpite to the Spirit of Grace in his moſt eminent exerting of himſelf, and that it is a ſin of the ſame nature with that of thoſe men, who aſcribed Chriſts caſting out of Devils to* Belzebub, *but far greater.* And Mr. *Andrew Cant* in a Sermon at *Glaſcow* 1638, preſſing the people to take the Covenant, ſaid, that he was ſent to them with a Commiſſion from Chriſt, to bid them Subſcribe the Covenant, which is Chriſt's Contract, and that he himſelf was come a woer to them from the Bride-Groom, and called unto them to come, and be *hand-faſted unto Chriſt* by Subſcribing the Contract, and that he would not depart the Town till he had got the names of all that ſhould refuſe to Subſcribe it, of whom he promiſed to complain to his Maſter Chriſt. But in effect he complained of them to the Committee of Eſtates and general Aſſembly, to get them Forfeited and Excommunicated. But the great Trick of the Kirk-Preachers, hath always been to Parallel the Solemn League and Covenant with the *Moſaical* Covenant, which was a Political aſwell as a Religious Contract betwixt *God* and the *Jews*, by which he as it were Eſpouſed himſelf to that people, and that people to himſelf. Hence they are wont to apply whatſoever is ſaid of the *Moſaical* throughout the *Old Teſt.* to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the making, keeping, or breaking thereof. Were the *Iſraelites* Married to God by the one: ſo were the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Married to him by the other? Was the forſaking of the one, the cauſe of all the judgments which fell upon them: ſo

the

the forſaking of the other (and not the Kings blood) is the cauſe of all the judgments that have fallen upon theſe ? Were the King aſwell as the people obliged to keep the former: ſo his *Majeſty* aſwell as his Subjects are obliged to keep the latter? Did that oblige the Children in the loyns of their Parents; ſo doth this oblige the people of both Nations, and their Poſterity for ever more? Hence they Sacrilegiouſly Baptize their Children into it, and expreſly renew it every time they receive the Communion, which was inſtituted as a Seal of the Covenant of Grace. Was the breaking of that a Revolting from God: ſo the reſciſſion of this is an utter Apoſtacy, eſpecially of *Scotland*, from God? So that the Whig-Apoſtles never ſpeak of their Country ſince the Eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy, but as of an Harlot and Idolatreſs, that hath forſaken her firſt Love, and Married her ſelf to another God. It would be endleſs to recite all their *Blaſphemies* about it. They make the laſt great Plague, and the Burning of *London*, to have been judgments for burning this Covenant there by the hand of the Common-Hangman: (Poor mans Cup of cold water, Printed in 4° 1678. pag. 19.) Nay they Teach that his Majeſty, like the Revolting Kings of *Iſrael*, and *Judah*, hath no right to Govern, becauſe he hath Revolted from it and Chriſt. Nay they damn all the Edicts and Acts of Parliament that are contrary to it, as the *Act* Statuting, that no Leagues, nor Bonds be made among the Subjects of any degree, upon whatſoever Pretence without his Majeſties, and his Succeſſors Privity and Conſent. The *Act* reſcinding and Annulling all the pretended Parliaments held 1640, 1641 *&c.* The *Act* for the Reeſtabliſhing of Epiſcopacy. The *Act* concerning the *Declaration* to be Signed by all in Publick Truſt, as Privy-Counſellors, Members of Parliament, Judges, Magiſtrates in Corporations, Juſtices of the Peace *&c.* A Copy of which I think fit to ſet down here.

I———*do ſincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to Subjects upon pretence of Reformation, or other pretence whatſoever, to enter into Leagues or Covenants, or to take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe Commiſſionate by him, and that all the Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Proteſtations, and erecting and keeping of Councils Tables that were uſed in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late Troubles, were Unlawful and Seditious. And particularly that theſe Oaths, whereof the one was commonly called* the National Covenant *(as it was Sworn and explained in the year 1638, and thereafter,) and the other intituled a* Solemn League and Covenant, *were, and are in themſelves unlawful Oathes, and were taken by and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, againſt the Fundamental Laws and Liberties of the ſame, and that there is no obligation upon me, or any of the Subjects from the ſaid Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any Change, or Alteration of the Government either in Church or State, as it is now Eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Kingdom.*

The *Act* for Security of the Perſons of regular Miniſters. The *Act* againſt Separation and Diſobedience to Eccleſiaſtical Authority. The *Act* of Supremacy (of which more hereafter) The *Act* againſt unlawful Ordinations. The *Act* for an Anniverſary day of Thanksgiving for his Majeſties Reſtauration, which the Rebels in their late Declaration on the 29*th* of *May* laſt, call an Act appointing an holy Anniverſary day to be kept on the 29*th* of *May*, *for giving Thanks for the up-ſetting of an Uſurped Power, deſtroying the intereſt of the Church of Chriſt in the Land, which is to ſet up the Creature to be worſhiped in the room of our great Redeemer, and to conſent to the aſſuming of the Power, which is proper to the Lord alone.* And therefore they burnt it publickly at the Croſs of *Glaſgow* on the 29*th.* of *May* laſt, with the Act of Supremacy, the Act concerning the Declaration, and the Reſcinding Act. And as they damn all theſe Acts upon the account of the Covenant, ſo they alſo damned the *Bond* which the Council tender'd in 1677, and 1678. The Author of *the poor mans Cup* calls it the Bond of Diſloyalty to Chriſt. And Mr. *John Dickſon* in *Crambuſhlane* Preaching at a Conventicle *May* 26th. 1678. Said that thoſe, *who had taken it had committed a greater ſin than the ſin of the Holy-Ghoſt, and were already in hell.* To conclude all their other Blaſphemies about the *Covenant*, there goes about among them a *Manuſcript*, written to prove that it is unlawfull to hear the Church-Miniſters, wherein the Author moſt Blaſphemouſly affirms, that the *Solemn League and Covenant is nothing elſe, but the ſubſtance of the Covenant of Grace.*

Prelacy, Popery, [x] *Malignancy* and Hereſie, but [y] *Supremacy*, and every thing Original upon and derivate from it. 3*ly*. I can but make mention of that honorable and noble practiſe, that this Land was priviledged with, *viz*. that after both defections the Lord put it in the heart of Chriſts Church and State, to renew thoſe Covenants again with the National and Solemn League and Covenants, together with an acknowledgment of ſin and an engagement to Duty, and that in the cloſe of that year; which performance was attended with ſo much of the

[x] Loyalty.

[y] His Majeſties *Supremacy* over all perſons, and in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was aſſerted by the firſt Act of the Second Parliament began at *Edinburgh*, *Octob.* 19. 1669. The Kirk-Miniſters have ever ſince rail'd againſt this Act above all the reſt, ſaying, that Jeſus Chriſt is quite exauctorat and *unkinged by it, that it hath overthrown his Prerogative Royal, and made the King Supreme in the houſe of Chriſt*. That the Three Eſtates have thereby Blaſphemouſly declared, that they have *no King but Cæſar*, that it is moſt expreſly contrary to the 2*d*. *Pſalm*, and that by ſubjecting all Eccleſiaſtical matters to the Imperial Scepter, they have given *a ſinful mortal power to King it over the houſe of God. Inſomuch that Jeſus Chriſt hath neither name, nor thing of Kingly power left him by this Curſed Act, by which all power Eccleſiaſtick is declared to be the intrinſick and inherent Prerogative of the Crown.* In particular the Author of the *Poor Mans Cup*, &c. ſaith, *that he admires the Patience of God, that the Nation wherein ſuch a wickedneſs was decreed, hath not before this Periſhed from under heaven*; and ſaith that the *Queſtion is put by the Governours to the followers of Chriſt in the fields, with greater contempt than Pilate put it. What? is Jeſus than your King?* And then he crys, *Oh noble Cauſe! Oh who would not rejoyce to enter the Liſt of contradiction with theſe his enemies, and have once an opportunity to ſay, Yes he is a King, and will be a King when you are gone, and will prove himſelf higher than the Kings of the Earth, by reſcinding* your *Supremacy that Idol of his jealouſie and indignation, and object of his revenge*. Nay he ſaith, that it is a pure, perfect, and unparallel'd contradiction to the *Doxology of the Lords Prayer*, and that never any thing was ſo like it in Sence and Sound, as what is Recorded by the Holy Ghoſt of the King of *Babylon*, *Iſa.* 14. 13, 14. *I will aſcend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God, I will ſit alſo upon the Mount of the Congregation* in the ſides of the North, *I will aſcend above the heighths of the Clouds, I will be like the moſt High.*

[a] *Lords power and preſence*, that it was like a Reſurrection from the Dead to all, that were Witneſſes thereof, both Speakers and Hearers, that many were forced to Cry out, The joy of the Lord is our ſtrength, God of a truth is here.

4*ly*. I dare not but add this in the caſe wherein I now ſtand, *viz*. I dare not but add my Concurrence with, and Adherence to all theſe publick Teſtimonies, Proteſtations, and Declarations, that have been owned, evinced and remitted by all the Presbyterian Miniſters and Profeſſors that appeared againſt the publick reſolutions, for taking in the Malignant Party into Judicatories

[z] So he Blaſphemouſly calls a National Faſcination to Rebellion, and Schiſm.

and Armies, as alſo I joyn my Cordial adherence to and with them that proteſted againſt the 2 general Aſſemblies at Saint *Andrews*, who endeavored to approve what the Commiſſion had done in the year 1650. and 1651. in reference to the intruſting of the Malignant Party, which, as was ſaid by theſe proteſting worthies, laid the foundation of all that has come or may come upon us. I hope this will not offend any.

5*ly*. I am* bound in Conſcience in the next place, to teſtifie my diſlike and abhorrence of that horrid, cruel, barbarous, unheard of and unparalleld Deportment and practice of that 1. *Act Reciſſory*, wherewith as at one Laſh, by an Act of that Precipitate Parliament, they endeavored to Reſcind, Annul, and Repel all thoſe great and glorious things that *the* 2. *ſtrong hand of the Lord* had done in *Scotland* for more than 20 years bygone, over the belly of ſo much oppoſition and ſtanding contradiction of proclaimed and avowed Adverſaries upon all hands, yea I proclaim my abhorrence of all the Confuſion, 3. *Blood, murder*, Fineing, Confineing, Impriſonments, Stigmatizing, with other unexpreſſible Cruelties that has iſſued from that Curſed Generation theſe 19 years bygone; and moreover, I leave my Teſtimony againſt all other Confuſions, Impriſonments and Blood, that is or may be intended againſt theſe in the Land, who deſign to 4. *keep their garments clean*, whether in Priſon, or out of Priſon.

6*ly*. As concerning that which is the ground of my death, *viz*. 5. *Preaching* here and there in ſome Corners, I bleſs my God I have not the leaſt Challenge for it, though theſe that

1. This is the 15*th* Act of the Firſt Parliament, begun at *Edinburgh*, Jan. 1. 1661. whereby all the pretended Parliaments from 1640. to the end of 1641. and by conſequence the Eſtabliſhed Presbyterian Government were all reſcinded, and Annulled; and they alſo rail as much againſt it, as againſt the Act of Supremacy, and burnt them like two Sticks both together.

2. So he Blaſpemouſly calls a ſtrong hand of Rebellion.

3. He means the Blood firſt, of thoſe who were Executed ſoon after his Majeſties Reſtauration, as of *Wariſton*, *Guthrie*, &c. 2*ly*. of thoſe who were Executed for the Rebellion at *Pentland-Hills* 1666, who in *Naphtali* and *Jus populi vindicatum* are called *Worthies*, *precious Saints*, and *Martyrs*, &c. and laſtly the Blood of *Mitchel*, who ſuffered for attempting the Murder of the late Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, but effected by them, whom the Author of the *Poor Mans Cup* hath Canonized for a Saint and Martyr in this Parallel with *Samſon*, which I ſhall ſet down in his own words, pag. 35. *Firſt Samſon was a Rachel and Rough-handed Saint, ready to Pelt the Philiſtines on all occaſions: yet Secondly, the Holy Ghoſt for all the faults that followed him hath Recorded his name, and Enrolled him in the number (even while the names of many others are left out) of thoſe Eminent Worthies.* Heb. 11. *And ſo he hath made the name of Mr.* Mitchell *Sweet, and as he took many Teſtimonies from him at all his appearances to the Cauſe, ſo he owned him in the end, and honoured him to die, Witneſſing a good Confeſſion, which will be on Record to Poſterity. Thirdly as Samſon did more miſchief to the enemies of the people of God at his death, than in all his life (for when they ſent for him to make themſelves merry at a ſight of his miſery, the Lord helped him to ſpoil their Sport) So I judge it is beyond queſtion with every Sober man, that Mr.* Mitchells *death hath done more hurt to its Contrivers and furious drivers, than ever his life could have done, even though he had ſhot again, and hit that unhallowed Mark*, &c.

4. He means from Idolatrous revolting from God into the Epiſcopal Church, *which is not the houſe of Chriſt*, as they Sacrilegiouſly teach.

5. See note n.

* If

† If weekly Meetings of Hundreds and Thouſands of Armed-men in the Fields, nay if weekly Meetings of Armed-men formed into Troops, and Companies ready upon all occaſions of *probable capacity* to Fight againſt the King, for the King in *Sion*, were *Rendevouzes of Rebellion*, then your Field-Preachers were Rebels, and the Field-Meetings Rendevouzes of Rebellion. What elſe were thoſe Field-Meetings of which was gathered that Army of Saints, which fought the Kings Forces on *Pentland-hills* in a ranged Battel 1666? What elſe were thoſe numerous Field-Meetings a little more than 2 years ſince, *upon his Grace the Duke of* Lauderdales *going down into* Scotland? which moved the Privy Counſell to adviſe his Majeſty to ſend *Engliſh* forces to lie in readineſs upon the borders, and to order the Vicount *Granard* to lie with an Army on the *Iriſh* Coaſts ready to be Tranſported upon occaſion, and likewiſe upon the *motion of the Marqueſs of* Athol, to procure the Lords of the Highlands a Commiſſion to March with their Vaſſals under the Command of his Majeſties Major General into the *Weſt*, to prevent the Field-Conventicles from running together into a general Rebellion, as they did the laſt *May*. Or to come to particulars, what elſe was that Field-faſt near *Jedburgh* in *Tiveotdale* towards the latter end of *March* 1678? where there were preſent 7 Preachers, and 5000 people, (the men being armed) to ſeek God for 3 things. 1ſt. That *he would be pleaſed to put an end to the Perſecution of his people in this Kingdom.* 2ly. *That he would have mercy on all thoſe that took the wicked Bond, and give them grace to repent of it.* 3ly. *That he would bleſs with ſucceſs, thoſe noble Lords, who were gone to London.* What elſe was that formidable Conventicle in the March the *May* following, where were Aſſembled eight or 9000 people to receive the Sacrament, and renew the Solemn League and Covenant, of which the Privy Counſell gave his Majeſty an account? What elſe was that Conventicle neer *Dunbar* ſhortly after, where they fell upon the Kings Forces of the *Baſſe*, that went out to diſmiſs them, and killed one of the Souldiers, and wounded more? But if I ſhould go on to enumerate all the Field-Meetings till that great one which began the Rebellion in *May* laſt, I ſhould rather write an Hiſtory than a Commentary, but I ſhall be ready to give a particular account of them, when a good occaſion ſhall require.

Condemned me were pleaſed to call theſe Preachings † *Rendezvouzes of Rebellion*, yet I muſt ſay this of them, They were ſo far from being reputed ſo in my eyes, that *if* 6. *ever Chriſt had a Party or people wherein his Soul took pleaſure, I am bold to ſay* theſe meetings were a great part of them; the Shinings and Glory of our God were eminently ſeen amongſt theſe Meetings, the Convincing Power and Authority of our Lord went out with his Servants in thoſe Blaſphemouſly Nicknamed Conventicles; this I ſay without Reflection upon any.

6. The Kirk-Preachers are always wont to ſpeak Great and Magnificent things of their Followers, whereas for the general, they are the moſt ignorant, and wicked ſort of people perhaps in the Chriſtian world. For their ignorance take this as a Specimen or proof of it.

7*ly*. As for that other Clauſe in my Indictment, upon which my Sentence of death is founded, *viz.* Perſonal preſence twice or thrice with Parties whom they called Rebels, for my own part I never judged nor called them ſuch. I acknowledge and do believe that there were

Edin-

Edingburgh 13. *of* May. 1678.

THis day a number of perſons being brought before a Committee of Council, and examined concerning their being at a Field-Conventicle, at or near Catcart *upon* Sunday *the* 12th *of this inſtant, one of them, named* David Ferguſon, *being interrogate, why he did not keep his Pariſh-Kirk, anſwered, that he had Sworn the Covenant, whereby he was obliged not to hear Biſhops, Deans, or Curates. And ſeveral of theſe perſons being asked, why they went to Conventicles, declared it was to hear the truth of God, and being interrogate what that truth of God was, declared they could not tell, and diverſe of them being asked, acknowledged, that they could not ſay the Lords Prayer, the Belief, nor the ten Commandements. This is atteſted to be true by me Mr.* Alexander Gibſon *one of the Clerks of his Majeſties Privy Council.*

Alexander Gibſon.

The number of perſons which were brought before the Committee were about 70, being the very ſame Company of men, who were brought into the *Thames* about 9 Months ſince in order to their Tranſportation (according to the 2*d.* Act of the 2*d.* Seſſion of the Second Parliament of *Charles* the II. began at *Edinburgh*, *July* 28. 1670.) into his Majeſties Plantations for obſtinately refuſing, when they were examined by Authority, to diſcover any perſons who were at that Field-Conventicle, in coming from which they were taken, and the diſorders tranſacted therein. And were not the Diſciples of theſe Field-Prophets very ignorant, it were not poſſible for them to believe Epiſcopacy to be an *Antichriſtian*, and Presbytery, which is but of yeſterday, to be a *Divine* inſtitution, to Baptize their Children into the Solemn League and Covenant, to think it unlawfull to hear Proteſtant Biſhops and Epiſcopal Miniſters Preach, and call that Church Idolatrous which hath neither Idols nor Ceremonies, nor any Liturgical Forms, nor any thing which can give the leaſt umbrage of ſuſpicion to tender Conſciences falſely ſo called, but worſhips God in the ſelf-ſame manner as they themſelves do. I ſpeak not this to upbraid our *Siſter-Church* (for which I dayly pray) with her defects, for her imperfect ſtate is not her fault, but her miſery, cauſed by the iniquity of the times, but to ſhew the groſs ignorance of the people, that are led away from her Communion, and Believe, that the uſe of the Lords Prayer is Idolatrous, that they cannot profit by the Church-Miniſtery, nay *that all the Biſhops and their whole Clergy never did nor never will Convert a Soul, as Mr.* John Dickſon *Blaſphemouſly Preached at* Pollemadie *in* June 1673.

And then for their wickedneſs I refer the Reader to the 3, or 4 laſt pages of *Revillac Redivivus*, though I could ſay an hundred times more upon this Subject, having by me a Manuſcript of 20 ſheets, Entituled the Principles and Practiſes of the Phanaticks, under the heads of *Jeſuitiſm*, *Anabaptiſm*, *Blaſphemy*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Cruelty*, *Slandering*, *Fornication*, *Beſtiality*, *Witchcraft*, &c. which perhaps ere long may be made publick for the honour of theſe *Gnoſtics* and their Teachers; but were there no more to object againſt them, but their Rebellious and Schiſmatical Principles and Practiſes, 'tis enough to make us conclude, without breach of Charity, that they are not a Party or people, *wherein the Soul of Chriſt takes pleaſure*, as this deceiver confidently boaſts.

many that came in the 7. *ſimplicity of their hearts*, like thoſe that followed *Abſolom* long ago. I am as ſure upon the other hand that there were a great Party there that had nothing before them, but the reprocuring of

7. The Scripture ſpeaks of thoſe who followed *Abſolom*, as Rebels, though many of them followed him in the ſimplicity of their hearts, as many of the *Weſtern* people followed their Preachers into the late Rebellion, & thought that they did God good Service in ſo doing, being deceived by this Murderer of Souls and his Bretheren, who make the people ignorant, and then abuſe their ignorance to the ruine of their Bodies, Souls and Eſtates.

the

the [8] *Lords fallen* work and the reſtoring of the breach which is void as the Sea, and I am apt to think that ſuch of theſe that were moſt Branded with miſtakes will be found to be moſt ſingle. But for [9] *Rebellion* againſt his Majeſties Perſon or juſt Government, the Lord knows my Soul abhors the *name and thing*. Loyal have I been, and wille every Chriſtian to be ſo. I was ever of this judgment, to give to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſars*, and to God the things that are Gods.

8*ly*. Since I came to Priſon, I have been much Branded with many things which I muſt call aſperſions, whereof [10] *Jeſuitiſm* is one. I am hopefull there was never one that did converſe with me, that had the leaſt ground of laying this to my charge, and know not how its come to paſs to caſt it upon me, nothing except implacable prejudice that ſome have been prepoſſeſſed with againſt me; I am not ignorant that near 2 years ago, a perſon of Note in this Church, who living was pleaſed to ſay, that I had died in that judgment, but after he was better informed, he changed his Note and ſaid it was miſinformation; but now the Lord, before whom I muſt ſtand and be judged by and by, knows, that I have a perfect abhorrence of the things, and it was never my intention directly or indirectly. Though I muſt confeſs ſome few years bygone ſome were preſſing with me, that I might Conform and embrace Prelacy; but for Popery and that traſh it came never nearer my heart than the Popes Conclave, or the *Alcoran*, which my Soul abhors.

8. So he Blaſphemouſly calls the Covenant, and Presbyterian Diſcipline.

9. He means Rebellion in his own *Jeſuitical* ſence.

10. Neither thou pretended Miniſter of the Goſpel, nor thy Brethren will ever be able to waſh off the *aſperſion of Jeſuitiſm*. [a] For is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to maintain, that the Rebellion of Church-men is not treaſon, becauſe they are not ſubject to the Secular power? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to carry on Solemn Leagues and Covenants among the Subjects without, and againſt the Princes conſent? [b] Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to Teach, that Kings ought to be Excommunicated, and that Subjects ought to withdraw their Obedience from them when they are Excommunicated, nay as ſoon as they begin to abuſe the power againſt the Church? [c] Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to deny, that Kings have power to Convocate and diſſolve Eccleſiaſtical Synods and Councils? And that no power on Earth is above that *Manyheaded-Pope, the general Aſſembly*, which hath power to make Laws without the King? Is not *Jeſuitiſm* to condemn the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and to forbid the people under pain of publick *Penitence*, or Damnation, to read it, or any books of Epiſcopal Divines, nay not to have them in their houſes, nor to converſe with Church-Miniſters (whom they ſcornfully call *Curates*, and the Biſhops Journey-men) much leſs to hear them Preach? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to aſſert, that Salvation is not to be had out of the narrow Communion of Presbyterian Churches, and to invent and impoſe *new Articles of Faith*, as, That Epiſcopacy is an Antichriſtian conſtitution, that it is Popery to obſerve the † Apoſtolical Feſtivals, or to adminiſter the Communion in private to ſick perſons, and that Presbytery is the ſole and unalterable Government of the Church. Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to Write and Preach againſt the *Scottiſh* Act and *Engliſh* Oath of Supremacy, and to [d] abſolve the people from their Oath of Allegiance, under a pretence of the Kings being an enemy to Chriſt? Is it not [e] *Jeſuitiſm* to Teach that there is a Reciprocal obligation betwixt Kings and their Subjects, and that if he perform not his part, they ought not to perform theirs? Nay is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to Teach, that the [f] Supream power is lodged originally in the people, which they may take from the Prince, when he is no longer worthy of it, and that the [g] Primitive Chriſtians did not take Arms againſt the perſecuting Emperors for the ſame reaſon, that Chriſtians take not up Arms in the *Ottoman* Empire, becauſe they had not ſufficient force? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to aſſert that a good intention will hallow a wicked action, or which is all one to Rebel, Murder, and Rob to advance the cauſe of God? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to compare Proteſtant Princes to Heathen, idolatrous

a 6 Book of *Spotsw.* Hiſt. particularly the ſtory of *Adam Blake*.

b *Buchan.* de jure regni *Lyſimachus Nicanors* letter.

c *Spotsw.* Hiſt. 6 book. the Covenanters proteſtation *July* 1638. publiſhed at the Croſs in *Glaſcow*. *Lyſim. Nic. Naphtali*.

† The paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcention of our Lord, and the diſcent of the Holy-Ghoſt.

d *Knox* in his Chron. pag. 78, and 33. *Lyſim. Nic.*

e *Naphtali* *Buchanan* de jure regni.

f *Buch.* de jure regni.

g *Buch.* de jure regni. *Naphtalies* probable capacity.

trous and perſecuting Tyrants? And to diſtinguiſh betwixt their *Private* and *Political* Perſons, and ſo make the people believe they fight for the King when they fight againſt the *anointed* man? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to Teach that h Magiſtrates in Church-matters have only a *Cumulative* but not a *Privative* power, and that all the Secular power on Earth cannot deprive or ſilence a Miniſter, becauſe every Miniſter is ſo by ſpecial miſſion from Chriſt, and in his Miniſterial capacity is ſubject to none but him? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to aſſert, that the King hath not power to Ordain a publick Faſt or Feſtival, and *that* i *paſſive obedience, and Submiſſion to the unrighteous Decrees and unjuſt Sentences, and puniſhments of Rulers, is as great a ſin as active obedience to their unrighteous laws?* Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to aſſert, that King *Solomon* deprived k *Abiathar* the High-Prieſt, not as a *King* but as a *Prophet*, and that the Miniſters ought not to Preach by permiſſion from the Magiſtrate, nor to have the exerciſe of their Function regulated by Secular Edicts and Laws? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm*, nay the uſurpation of the Inquiſition it ſelf, l to meddle with every thing, even Edicts, and Acts of Parliament, under the colour and pretence of Scandal, and uſe the holy Communion as a Seal to other Oaths, Vows and Covenants, beſides that of our Baptiſmal Covenant with God? Is is not *Jeſuitiſm* to aſſert, that a m private perſon may kill a man in publick Authority by *impulſe*, and that ſuch Acts are heroical, like that of *Phineas*, and have wrought great deliverances for the Church of God? Is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to repreſent Chriſtian Proteſtant Kings as a judgment and not as a Bleſſing to the Church, by telling the people, n there were no Kings before *Cains* days, that God gave the *Jews* their firſt King in his wrath, and that the Church was well Governed for above 300 years before there was any Chriſtian King? Laſtly, is it not *Jeſuitiſm* to teach the people, that they ought to labour for an holy hatred of our Reformed Biſhops and their adherents, and that it is p lawful and laudable to kill them and their Curates, and that *Proteſtant Prelacy is an enemy to true Godlineſs, and admirably fitted to bring the Church unto a ſlaviſh dependance upon the King?* If theſe be *Jeſuitical* Doctrines, thou blind leader of the blind, then thou and thy brethrén will never be able to waſh off the aſperſions of *Jeſuitiſm* with all the water in *Tweed* and the *Forth*.

h Apology &c. Printed 1677.

i Apology. Sect. 3.

k Apology.

l *Spotsw.* Hiſt. lib. 6. *An.* 1596.

m *Naphtali* about Mr. *Mitchels* attempt. *Knox* in his Chronicle applauds *Norman Leſlies* killing the Cardinal at St. *Andrews*, and *James Melvin* calls it a godly fact, and *Leighton* in his *Sions Plea* ſaith, that *Feltons* killing the Duke of *Buckingham* was an heroical and laudable fact. See alſo *Mitchels* Speeches in *Ravillac Redivivus*.

n The information for defenſive arms. *Sions Plea*, pag. 196.

p *Naphtali*, *Jus populi vindicatum*. *Mitchels* greater Speech in *Ravillac Redivivus*. The introduction to the Apology.

9*ly*. I have been alſo 11. *branded with Factiouſneſs, diviſive and ſeditious Preaching and practices*. I muſt confeſs if it be ſo, it was more than I was ever aware of, according to the meaſure that God hath given me, it was my endeavour to *Commend* 12. *Chriſt to the hearts* and ſouls of people, even repentance towards God and Faith towards Jeſus Chriſt according to the Word of God, Confeſſion of Faith, 13. *Catechiſms larger and ſhorter*, yea, I did preſs them alſo (when God did caſt it in 14. *my way*) to remember their Sworn Covenant in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, and that they would make it their work to [illegible]nd to it in ſubſtance and Circum[illegible]s, ſeeing it is ſo cried down in ſta[illegible]r, and if this be diviſive ſtance[illegible] I cannot deny it. this da[illegible] Preaching.

11. Not by the Church-Miniſters, but by the indulged brethren, who think it conſiſtent with the nature and deſign of the Covenant, and the Supremacy of the King of *Sion*, to accept of his Majeſties indulgence, which *Brown*, *Welſh*, *King*, *Kid*, *Cameron* and the reſt, declare is unlawful to do.

12. In his Soverainity, Royal Prerogatives, Crown and Kingdom.

13. The Aſſemblies larger and ſhorter Catechiſm.

14. That was as often as he thought fit.

10*ly*.

10*ly*. I am preſſed in Conſcience to bear my teſtimony againſt, and abhorrence of every invaſion, uſurpation or incroachment that is made or hath been made againſt Chriſts Royal Prerogative, Crown and Kingdom, original upon, and derivate from that which they call the 15. *Supremacy*. I was never free to lay a Confederacy with thoſe that I judge in a great part have laid a Confederacy in that thing, and the Lord is my Record, I was never free in my Conſcience for that which is called the 16. *Indulgence*, neither *firſt* nor *ſecond* as it was tendred by the Council, and as it was embraced by a great many Godly-hearted men in this Iſland; yea, it was never lawful nor expedient to me: and in effect this is the main ground why I am rendred obnoxious to ſo many imputations, that I have been all along contrary to their Indulgence in my judgment. I confeſs I have been of that judgment, and die in the judgment contrary to it; and this I crave leave to ſay without any offence to

15. See note y.

16. And as they hold it unlawful to take the Kings Licences and *Indulgences*, as being inconſiſtent with their immediate Miſſion from Chriſt, and his Prerogative Royal: So they think it unlawful to accept of any *Accomodation* from the Church, as being incompatible with their Solemn League and Covenant, that *Oath of God*, as they call it, by which they are obliged to endeavour the extirpation of Epiſcopal Government, and ſet up Presbytery in its ſtead. Dr. *Leighton* ſometimes Biſhop of *Dumblane* and Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, offered them Six Articles of accommodation in his Dioceſs, by which he did really *unbiſhop* himſelf, and left himſelf nothing of the holy Apoſtolic Office, but the empty name.

The ARTICLES.

1ſt. *That if the Deſſenting brethren will come to Presbyteries and Synods, they ſhall not only be obliged to renounce their own private opinion anent Church-Government, and Swear or Subſcribe any thing thereto; but ſhall have liberty at their entry to the ſaid meeting, to declare, and enter it in what form they pleaſe.*

2ly. *That all Church-Affairs ſhall be managed in Presbyteries or Synods, by the free vote of Prebyters, or the Major part of them.*

3ly. *If any difference fall out in the Dioceſian Synods betwixt any of the Members thereof, it ſhall be lawful to appeal to a Provincial Synod, or their Committee.*

4ly. *That Intrants being lawfully preſented by the Patron, and duly Tried by the Presbytery, there ſhall be a day agreed on by the Biſhop and Presbytery for their meeting together, and for their Solemn Ordination and Admiſſion, at which there ſhall be one appointed to Preach, and that it ſhall be at the Pariſh-Church where he is to be admitted. Except in the caſe of impoſſibility or extream inconvenience; and if any difference fall in touching that Affair, it ſhall be referable to the Provincial Synods or their Committee, as any other matter.*

5ly. *It is not to be doubted but my Lord Commiſſioner his Grace will make good what he offered anent the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyteries and Synods, and we truſt that his Grace will procure ſuch ſecurity to thoſe Brethren for declaring their judgment, that they may do it without any hazard in contravening any law, and that the Biſhop ſhall humbly and earneſtly recommend this to his Grace.*

6ly. *That no Intrant ſhall be ingaged to any Canonical Oath or Subſcription to the Biſhop, and that his opinion anent that Government ſhall not prejudge him in this; but it ſhall be free for him to declare.*

Theſe are the Articles of accomodation, in which that Prelate moſt unworthily parted with his *Negative voice*, wherein the very eſſence of Epiſcopal power conſiſts. † For μηδὲν χωρὶς τῦ ἐπισκόπου &c. was the Apoſtolical rule of Church-Government, (*can.* 39. *Sanct.*

† *Ignatius ad Smyrn. ad Philadelph. ad Trall.*

Sanct. Apoſt.) and therefore next to the appearance of a Biſhop *before a meeting of Presbyters, upon a citation from them, and renouncing the Epiſcopal Function before them, and craving their pardon that he had accepted of it, as* † Graham *Biſhop of* Orkney *did*; his forſaking of his Negative power by a contract with his Presbyters, and committing all Church-Affairs to their ſole management (not to mention the remitting of their Canonical Oath) would have been as Sacrilegious a conceſſion, as a Biſhop, *quatenus* ſuch, could make. He had thereby virtually reduced himſelf into a Presbyter, which the Primitive Church did abhor as † Sacrilege, and would undoubtedly have deprived and Excommunicated, if not Anathematiſed, any Biſhop that durſt have been ſo perfidious to the Apoſtolick cauſe. But yet though beyond all example he cut the very Nerves of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction in theſe Articles of *Accomodation*, the Nonconform Miniſters ſcornfully rejected them, and wrote againſt them in a book intituled, *The Caſe of Accomodation &c.* Printed in 4° 1671.

† The Epiſtle Dedicatory to Biſhops *Halls* Epiſcopacy.

† Can. 29. Concil. Chalced. *Math. Blaſtar* Cap. 28. in E.

the Godly and 17. *Learned* that are of another judgment. I judge it fit likewiſe in this caſe to leave my Teſtimony 18. *againſt the ſtent taxation ceſs* that hath been ſo unjuſtly impoſed, ſo irrelevantly founded and vigorouſly caried on by the late Convention of Eſtates, and meerly upon no other account imaginable, but to

17. There is not one Learned man among them, unleſs he be a *Prieſt* (for ſo cuſtom emphatically calls the *Romiſh* Presbyters) or a *Jeſuit* in Maſquerade.

18. Laſt Summer was Twelve-month, *the Convention of Eſtates* gave his Majeſty a Five-months Tax, or 30000*l. Sterling* a year, for five years ſucceſſively, to maintain a Regiment of Foot, and 3 Companies of Dragoons, and 3 Troops of Horſe for ſuppreſſing of the Field-Conventicles. This Act was like to be ſuch a Blow to the *Cauſe* made up of Faction and Schiſm, that it was vigorouſly oppoſed under ſome colour or other by an *inſignificant* contrary Party, who were not the *Sixth part* of the Houſe. And as ſoon as it was paſſed, the Field-Preachers, who had told the people before, that the Convention would come to nothing, fell immediately to Preach againſt the *Five-months Tax*, telling them, that it was given by the enemies of Chriſt to drive him out of the Kingdom, and that it would be as great a ſin to pay it, as it was to *Judas* to betray Chriſt. Nay they told them, that this was the *day of Chriſts enemies*, and *the power of darkneſs*, and *the very Nick of temptation*, which God permitted to trie whether they would have Chriſt for their King or no, and charged them, as they would anſwer it before them at the great day, not to forſake him contrary to their *Holy Covenant*, by ſinfully complying with ſuch an *Antichriſtian* Act. Their people upon this were ſo affrighted, that many of them rather than pay the Ceſs, will ſuffer diſtreint; and in particular the Earl of *Dundonalds* chief ſervant fell perfectly diſtracted by trouble of Conſcience for having aſſiſted his Lord at *Renſcot* in laying the Ceſs upon that Shire. And the very ſame Sanctified *Ruffians*, who murdered the Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* in *Fife*, had ſeveral days before laid wait for the Collectors of this Tax.

make a final extirpation 19. *of Chriſt his Goſpel and Ordinances out of the Land*: and how lamentable it is to conſider how many Profeſſors did willingly pay it, and were moſt forward for others to do the ſame. In the next place, though to many I die deſired, yet I know, not to a few my death is not deſired; and its the rejoycing of my heart that I die in the Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath loved me and given himſelf for me, and in the Faith of the Apoſtles and Prophets, and in the Faith that there is not a name under Heaven by which men can be Saved, but by the name of Jeſus, and in the Faith of the Doctrine, Worſhip and Government of the Kirk of *Scotland*, as it is now Eſtabliſhed according to the Word of God, Confeſſions of Faith, Catechiſms larger and ſhorter like as I leave my Teſtimony againſt Popery, Perjury, Prophanity, Prelacy, Hereſie, and every thing contrary to ſound Doctrine. In the cloſe, as a dying Perſon, and as one who hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be Faithful, I would humbly

19. *i. e.* of Chriſt as King in *Sion*, of the Covenant & of the Presbyterian Government, that *Pattern in the Mount.*

humbly leave it on the Godly Miniſters to be faithful for their Lord and Maſter, and not to hold their peace in ſuch a day, when ſo many ways are taken for injuring *him*, his *Name*, nay *his Sanctuary*, *Ordinances*, *Crown* and *Kingdom*. 20. *I hope there will be found a Party in this Land, that will contend for him and his matters upon all hazards*: and as faithfulneſs is called for in Miniſters, ſo Profeſſors would concern themſelves that they countenance not nor abate any thing that is inconſiſtent with their former principles and practices. I have a word to add further that God is calling perſons to repentance, and to *do their* 21. *firſt Works*. O that *Scotland* were a mourning Land! And O that Reformation were our practice according as we are Sworn in the Covenant! Again, Chriſtians of grace and experience would ſtudy more ſtability and ſtraightneſs in this day, when ſo many are turning to the right hand and ſo many to the left: 22. *He that endures to the end ſhall be ſaved*: he hath appointed a Kingdom for ſuch as continue with him in his temptations. Next, as ever ye would expect to have the *Form of the houſe of God ſhewed you in all the Laws thereof, goings out thereof, and comings in thereof*, then think it no ſhame for you for all that hath been done; ſitting down on this ſide *Jordan* is like to be our bane. Oh when ſhall we get out and run after him with all our hearts, and never reſt till he return. I commend my Wife and poor young ones to the care and Faithfulneſs of the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, the God that hath led me to this day, and who is the God of my Salvation, be their God and my God, their Father and my Father. I am alſo hopeful that Chriſtian Friends and Relations will not be unmindful of them, when I am gone. Laſtly, I bear my Teſtimony to the Croſs of Chriſt, and Bleſs him, that ever he counted me worthy to *appear for him in ſuch a Lot as this*. Glory to him that ever I heard of him, and that ever he fell upon ſuch a method of dealing with me as this. And therefore let none that loves Chriſt and his righteous Cauſe be offended at me; and as I lived in the Faith of this, that the three 24. *Kingdoms are married Lands*, ſo I die in the *Faith of it, that there will be a Reſurrection* of his Name, Word, Cauſe and Covenant, and of all his intereſts therein, though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all thoſe things to the infinitely wiſe God, who hath done and will do all things well. Oh that he would return to this Land again, repair our breaches, take away backſlidings, appear for his Work! O that he were pacified towards us! Oh that he would paſs by *Scotland* once again, and make our time a time of love! Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly, himſelf haſten it in his own time and way. The Lord is my Light, my Joy, and my Life my Song and my Salvation. The good of his choſen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy-Ghoſt keep up and carry me fair through to the glory of his Grace, to the Edification of his people, and my own eternal Advantage. *Amen*.

20. Well threatned falſe Prophet.

21. To aſſert the Covenant.

22. Conſider how Blaſphemouſly he applies this Scripture.

23. Of the Presbyterian Government & Diſcipline.

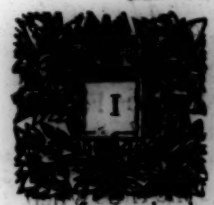
24. Married to God by the Solemn League & Covenant. See more in Notes upon *W.*

John Kid.

THE LAST SPEECH OF Mr. John King.

With Animadverſions thereupon.

Men and Brethren,



Do not doubt but many, that are Spectators here, have ſome or other end, then to be edified by what yee may ſee in the behaviour, or hear in the laſt words of one going to eternity: But if any of you have ears to hear, as I doubt not but ſome of this great gathering have, then I deſire your ears and attention, if the Lord ſhall help and permit me to ſpeak to a few things. Firſt I bleſs the Lord (ſince by his wiſdom and holy providence he hath carved out my lot to die after this manner) that I die not [a] *unwillingly*, nor by force. It is true, I could not do this of my ſelf neither, allways having an inclination to put the evil day farr away; but *through* [b] *grace I have* been helped, and by his grace yet hope to be, and though poſſibly I might have ſhunned ſuch a hard ſentence, if I had done things which (though I could) I durſt not

[a] As unwillingly as other malefactors uſe to do, for in the interval betwixt his condemnation, and execution, he by his friends uſed all the means he could to procure his Majeſties pardon.

[b] There are two ſorts of courage: one *natural*, and the other *ſupernatural*, or inſpired, and the raiſing of the Animal *Spirits* by ſtrong liquors (for Ariſtotle compares Enthuſiaſm to wine) will plauſibly counterfit both. Hence we ſee that common Malefactors, party to rid their minds of the torment of fear, and partly out of a vain glorious deſire to be miſtaken by the rabble for men of great natural courage, who contemn Death, privatly fortify themſelves before the time of execution by ſtrong ſpirits, and cordials, by vertue of which they often appear to die like gallant men. In like manner religious Malefactors (I mean ſuch as pretend to ſuffer upon the account of religion) that they may rid themſelves of the terrours of an evil conſcience, and appear to be aſſiſted, like Martyrs, with ſupernatural courage, highten their ſpirits at the time of execution, by ſtrong liquours, and cordialls, which make them briſk, and bold, and inſenſible of Death, and Hell. But then as the former ſometimes drink to much, and

ſo

ſo diſcover the Cheat by dying Drunk: ſo the latter (who are ſo much the more execrable Hypocrites of the two, as it is a greater ſin to counterfit *Grace* than nature) ſometimes by taking too much of the creature diſcover their impoſture by their Drunkenneſs, and by dying not like *Martyrs*, but ſots. This was the deplorable caſe of *Hugh Peters*, whoſe ſad condition that good penitent Mr. *Cook* lamented at his execution. This likewiſe was the caſe of the *Pentland-Rebels* who were executed at Edinburgh, who were ſo ſtupified, and beſotted with the Sack, and Brandy, which they drank on the day of their execution, and the day before, that they died like Beaſts, without ſo much as making a prayer to God, or deſiring others to pray for them; to the great ſcandal of all good Chriſtian ſpectators, who ſaw them, and whereof many yet a live can witneſs, what I ſay. Laſtly, this was the caſe, though not to that degree, of *Gaven* the Jeſuit, elder brother to this deceiver, who delivered as much, as he was permitted to ſpeak, of this ſpeech (which he had compoſed before) in ſuch a broken confuſed manner, as Drunken men uſe to do, in ſomuch, that the orthodox ſpectators pityed the wretch, and his brotherhood were aſhamed. See notes d, and f, on the firſt in Speech.

do, no not for my Soul, yet I durſt not (God knows) redeem my Life by the loſs of my Integrity and Honeſty. I bleſs the Lord, that ſince I have been apprehended and a priſoner, God hath very wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable word, [c] *Fear not, be not diſmayed, I am with thee, I will ſtrengthen thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteouſneſs*, Iſa. 41. 10. I thank the Lord he never gave me leave ſo much as to have a thought,

[c] I ſhewed before on note c, in the firſt ſpeech, that this ſort of Miniſters falſly ſo called, have a *Jeſuitical* trick of abuſively applying the holy Scriptures to themſelves.

Here we may ſee another notable inſtance of it, where the deceiver applys to himſelf this comfortable meſſage, which the Prophet delivered in Gods name to the Jews, as they were his People in a civil ſence, bidding them not to be afraid, or diſmay'd, becauſe he would ſtrengthen them, help them, and uphold them againſt their Enemies: ſo that thoſe who were incenſed againſt them ſhould be aſhamed, and confounded, and thoſe that warred againſt them ſhould be as a thing of naught. But here he blaſphemouſly aſſerts, that God miraculouſly upheld him, and *made out theſe comfortable words to him, as if the Holy Ghoſt had whiſpered them in his conſcience as expreſſly, as the Prophet ſpoke them unto the* Jews. *Or as if whatſoever was written in the holy Scriptures, were to be ſo exactly tranſcribed in the works of Providence, that even the Prophetical paſſages, and predictions were to be accompliſhed over and over in different Ages*; *or as if the latter works of Providence, not only in general, but as to particular Societies, and Perſons did anſwer as exactly to ſome or other places of the Scripture, as Face anſwers to Face in a Glaſs.* This Doctrine is taught in a Book called, *The fulfilling of the Scriptures*, Printed 1669. wherein are ſuch Blaſphemous applications of the Scripture-promiſes to the Condition of the Covenanters in *Scotland*, as cannot be read without horrour, and indignation, by any Orthodox man. Ever ſince the Re-eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy, the Conventicle-Preachers have aſſured their People, that God would deſtroy it again, and reſtore *his own work*; but then as often as they began to withdraw from them, ſeeing no probability of ſuch a turn, then they Preached, and Wrote of the great promiſes which were made to Believing, as that *Faith was the Evidence of things not ſeen*, and that they ought to believe the naked Word, when there was no appearance of its *out-making*, according to 2 *Chron.* 20. 20. *Hear O* Judah, *and Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *believe in the Lord your God, ſo ſhall you be Eſtabliſhed, believe his Prophets, ſo ſhall you Proſper.* But then when things fell not out according to the prediction of theſe falſe Prophets, but quite contrary, then they had another Scripture to quiet their Diſciples, *viz. That the Righteous ought not to be afraid of evil tidings, but that their hearts ſhould be eſtabliſhed truſting in the Lord, and that they ſhould not be afraid, untill they had ſeen their deſires upon their Enemies*, Pſalm. 112. 7, 8. Therefore they ought to get their Spirits quiet in a recumbency on God, and to truſt his Teſtimony more than their own Hearts, becauſe there was then a moſt ſenſible outgate, when there was leaſt of Senſe and moſt of Faith; that when their Cauſe was loweſt, then God called them to throw themſelves on the promiſe, and that their moſt deſperate venture of Life, Eſtate, and Credit upon the Promiſes of God, hath uſually had the richeſt Incom, and that thoſe who

Fulfil. of Script. pag. 50.

who have been moſt Friends to Faith, have had Faith moſt a Friend to them. And then if through Faction of great men, or ſecret favour of Fanaticks in Power, any thing happened for their advantage, then there was another comfortable Triumphant Text to be applyed to them, to make them expect greater matters yet, *viz. Becauſe I ſaid unto thee, I ſaw thee under the Fig-Tree, believeſt thou? Thou ſhalt ſee greater things than theſe*, Joh. 1. 50. Therefore is it good with *Caleb*, to take part with the promiſe againſt the diſcouraging reports about the *Anakims*; for believing doth always make way for ſenſe, ſo that it is good to truſt in God in a day of ſtreights, ſeeing his returns have been not only according to Faith, but have often exceeded their belief. Then whatſoever happens for the Intereſt of the *Cauſe*, is not only the reward of their Faith, but the anſwer of their Prayers; for the People of the Lord can teſtifie by experience, that when they have oft with *Hannah* gon in before the Lord in the bitterneſs of their Spirit, they have been made to return with a ſenſible, and marvellous change in their caſe. For God is near unto his People, in what they call upon him according to his Word. Thoſe who have a deſire to ſee more of their Blaſphemous applications of Scripture, may conſult the foreſaid Book, out of which I have taken theſe. See alſo Notes *e. b. o.*

much leſs to ſeek after any [d] *Shift*, that might have been in the leaſt ſinful. I did always, and yet judge it

[d] Yet when he was charged by authority for having born Arms in the late Rebellion, he denyed it. Upon which one, or more of thoſe who apprehended him being called, Swore that they took him with Swords and Piſtols, to which, being asked if that was not to bear Arms, he ſaid, that he meant he never bore Arms in an Hoſtile manner, *viz.* in his hands.

better to [e] ſuffer *affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleaſure of ſin for a ſeaſon.* Therefore I am come hither to Suffer, and to lay down my Life. I bleſs the Lord, I dye not as a Fool, though I acknowledge, I have nothing to boaſt of in my ſelf. I acknowledge, I am a Sinner and one of the chiefeſt, that has gone under the name of a Profeſſor of Religion, yea, amongſt the unworthieſt of thoſe that have

[e] The Poſterity of *Abraham* were made Gods *Segoulah*, or peculiar People, by vertue of that particular Contract which he was pleaſed to make with the Father of the Faithful, and ſeal with the Sacrament of Circumciſion: and therefore if *Moſes*, when he came to years of Diſcretion, had owned himſelf for the Son of *Pharaohs* Daughter, and ſo had ſucceeded to *Pharaohs* Imperial Throne, he had virtually abjured the Blood of *Abraham*, and thereby renounced God, his only Church and People, and that holy Covenant, to which were annexed ſo many Promiſes and Priviledges, as ſingular Prerogatives of that People, and particularly, that of them, as concerning the Fleſh, *Meſſias* himſelf ſhould come. In this therefore the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, commends the Faith of *Moſes*, that he choſe rather in a time of Perſecution to own his Brethren, the only Church and People of God, and the Covenant by which they were eſpouſed to him, than to enjoy the Temporal pleaſures of a Crown, to which he could not have ſucceeded without renouncing of *Abrahams* Blood. But what is this to the caſe of this Deceiver, who was hanged for rebelling againſt his natural Prince? Yes, it was a brave Text to induce the People to believe, that he was a great Prophet, and the Familiar Friend of God, as *Moſes* was, and that the Covenanters are *Gods People*, and the People of the Epiſcopal Churches, but as *Egyptians*, whom it is Lawful and Meritorious to Rob, and Kill.

Preached the Goſpel. [f] *My Sins and Corruptions have been many*, I have defiled me in all things, and even

[f] See note on *b.* in the firſt Speech.

in the following and doing † *of Duty*, I have not wanted my own ſinful infirmities and weakneſs. So

† By *Duty* here, I ſuppoſe, he means *Prayer*, which the Presbyterian Writers Emphatically call by that name. And as in other things, ſo eſpecially in this, they uſe to perplex, and enſlave the conſciences of men, by repreſenting the natural infirmities

ies of human nature, for great ſins, which either are not ſins at all, as thoſe firſt motions of the *appetite*, which the Schoolmen call *motus primo primi*, or elſe but common irregularities of our corrupt nature, which God will never lay to our charge; unleſs we indulge, and promote them. Such as are extravagant thinkings, which proceed from the nimble and diſultory nature of the imagination, which will make Excurſions, when the mind is moſt ſerious, and intent. No man can be ſo intent upon a Mathematical demonſtration, but *wandring* thoughts will interpoſe, whether he will or no, and inſpite of his uttermoſt attention ſo interrupt him, that he will ſometimes looſe the connexion, and be forced to begin his demonſtration again. Beſides ſome things, and accidents will make ſuch deep impreſſions upon our phancies, do what we can to reſiſt them, that our minds will rave upon them in our Studies and Prayers, and in ſuch caſes God who knows whereof we are made, better than we know our ſelves, will be ſo far from imputing them unto us, that, if we manfully reſiſt them, he will pity our infirmities, and accept of the will for the deed. I make this remark, becauſe there is nothing more common than to find our modern Phariſees, with their Mouths full of tragical lamentations, and complaints of the common infirmities of human nature, without taking notice of their own, on their Parties preſumptious ſins. Like this deplorable wretch, who here takes pains to confeſs, that he wanted not infirmities in doing of Duty, which no meer man ever yet wanted, but ſays nothing by way of contrition for his Treaſons, Schiſms and Rebellions, which is in plain *Engliſh* Phariſe-like to *ſwallow a Camel, and ſtrain at a Gnat.*

that I may juſtly ſay, I have no righteouſneſs of my own, all is like filthy Rags; *But* [g] *bleſſed be God*, that there is a Saviour, and an Advocate Jeſus Chriſt the righteous; and I *do believe, that Jeſus Chriſt* is come into the World to ſave Sinners, of whom I am the chief, and that through Faith in his Righteouſneſs I have obtained Mercy, and that through him and him only I deſire to have a happy and glorious Victory over Sin, Satan, Hell and Death, and that I ſhall attain unto the Reſurrection of the Juſt, and be partaker of Eternal Life; *I know in whom I have believed that* [h] *he is able to keep that which I have committed to him againſt that day*; *I*

[g] What Epiſcopal Proteſtant doth not think himſelf bound to bleſs God upon the ſame account? or doth not believe the ſame things of Jeſus Chriſt? or hath not the ſame truſt and affiance in him, though I hope better grounded than his is? but he muſt make himſelf talk at this rate to inſinuate to the People, that he Suffered for preaching theſe Goſpel-Truths.

[h] By citing part of this paſſage, 2 *Tim.* 1. 12. he Jeſuitically inſinuates, as if the whole were applicable to him, and by conſequence, that he Suffered for the ſame cauſe, as the Apoſtle did, *viz.* for *Preaching of the Goſpel.* For the Verſe begins thus: *For the which Cauſe I alſo ſuffer theſe things, nevertheleſs I am not aſhamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am perſwaded, that he is able to keep, that which I have committed unto him* (he means either his Preaching, or the Rebellious Peo-

ple to whom he Preached) *againſt that day*, as if he were put to Death for Preaching, and they were perſecuted for hearing the Goſpel Preached.

[i] *have in my poor Capacity* Preached Salvation through his Name, and as I have Preached, ſo do I believe, and with all my Soul I have Commended and yet I do Commend to all of you the riches of [k] *his free Grace* and Faith in his name, as the *alone and only* way whereby ye can be ſaved. It may be many may think (but

[i] And do not Proteſtant-Biſhops, and their Clergy Preach Salvation, in Chriſts name, and Chriſts alone?

[k] See note [i] in the firſt Speech.

I bleſs the Lord without any [l] *ſolid ground*) that I Suffer not as an Evil Doer, and as a buſie Body in other mens matters, but I reckon not much upon that, (having the Teſtimony of my Conſcience) *for it was the*

[l] Is there then no *ſollid ground* to believe, that a man, who Blaſphemouſly Preached Rebellion in the name of God, and who preached it in Aſſemblies of Armed men in the Fields, and who preached thoſe Aſſemblies into a Marching Army, and who Marched himſelf along with them in Arms, I ſay is there no ſollid ground to believe, that ſuch a man Suffered as an Evil Doer, and not as a Martyr for Chriſt?

[m] *Lot of our bleſſed Lord himſelf*, and alſo the Lot of many of his eminent and precious Servants and People, to Suffer by the *World as Evil Doers*, yea, I think it, I have ſo far ground not to ſcare at ſuch a Lot, that I count it my *Non-ſuch honour*, and (Oh what am I that I ſhould have been honoured ſo, when ſo

[m] Is it not great Blaſphemy in this Traitor to compare his Lot firſt with the Lot of Chriſt, who was put to Death for aſſerting, that he was Meſſias, and the Son of God? And 2*ly*. with the Lot of his faithful Witneſſes, who were put to Death by the *Jews* for maintaining that Jeſus, whom they had Crucified was the Meſſias, and that *God had Raiſed* him from the Dead, and had made him the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, and that Salvation was to be had in no other name but his; And likewiſe Suffered by the *Gentiles* for preaching againſt Idolatry, declaring unto them, That God who made Heaven and Earth was the only true God, and that Jeſus whom the *Jews* Crucified, was raiſed from the Dead, and was the great piacle for the ſins of the World, *&c.* For which of theſe Truths, or for what other Article of the Creed, or for what Doctrine of the Goſpel profeſſed by the Catholick Church did this Blaſphemer Suffer, that he durſt compare his Lot to that of Chriſt, and the primitive Chriſtians? It is not the Suffering, but the cauſe for which any man Suffers, that can juſtify ſuch a parallel; otherwiſe, all Malefactors might take the confidence to Baſpheme, as well as this Traitor and his Brethren, who pretend to ſuffer for Chriſt, and be conformed unto him in his Sufferings, when they are put to Death for moſt Hainous crimes. So that Execrable wretch † *Mitchel*, declared in the Speech which he threw among the Spectators, That *he died a Witneſs for Chriſts deſpiſed Truth and Intereſt, which God called him to ſeal with his Blood.* So *Naphtali* page 226. brings in thoſe, who were hanged at *Edinburgh, Decemb.* 7. 1666. for the Rebellion at *Pentland-hills*, ſpeaking thus, *We are Condemned by Men—but this is our rejoycing the Teſtimony of our Conſcience, that we Suffer not as Evil Doers, but for Righteouſneſs, for the Word of God, and the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.* Would you know the Righteouſneſs for which they Suffered? It was their Covenant, the Presbyterian Government, and the Supremacy of the King in *Sion.* Things and notions which the Primitive Chriſtians never knew, nor heard of, nor whereof one title is to be found in their Writings, or in the Word of God.

† In *Raviliac Redivivus.*

many Worthies have [n] panted after the like, and have not come at it) and my Soul rejoyceth in being brought to a Conformity with my bleſſed Lord, and Head, and ſo bleſſed a Company in this way and Lot. And I deſire to pray, that I may not be to any of you to day upon this

[n] If the Worthies of the cauſe pant after this incomparable honour, why doth not their mighty zeal and ambition render them impatient like ſome of the Primitive Chriſtians, who not being able to ſtay till God called them, preſented themſelves before the criminal Tribunals, fearing leſt they might want an opportunity to dye for the name of Chriſt. Did the Covenanters ſo pant after the honour of Martyrdom, we ſhould ſee the Rebels render themſelves in Troops to Authority, and here men not Arraigned cry out in the chamber of criminal Juſtice, *and we were at Bothwel-Bridge*, we ſhould ſee them throng to bear their Teſtimony at the *Croſs*, or in the *Graſs-Market* of *Edinburgh*, where Mr. *Welſh* hath foretold, (and I hope in this he is a true Prophet) that he muſt *glorifie God*,

account

account a [o] *Stone of Stumbling or a Rock of Offence*, and blessed is he, that shall not *be offended in Christ, and his poor Followers and Members*, because of being Condemned by the World, as evildoers. As for those things for which Sentence hath passed against

[o] In the Scripture every thing, or Person, that is an occasion of a Christians forsaking or falling off from Christ, or the Christian Religion, is Metaphorically called, a *Scandal*, a *Stone of Stumbling*, and *a Rock of Offence*, and any man (even our blessed Redeemer) who spoke, did, or suffered any thing that accidentally deterred others from believing in Christ, or that gave him occasion to desert him or his Doctrine, is said to have offended (or *Scandalized*) them, or given them offence, in which sense 1 *Cor.* 1. 23. Christ is said to be a Scandal, or *Stumbling-block to the* Jews, and *Luk.* 7. 23. saith our Saviour, *Blessed is he, that shall not be offended in me*, i. e. *who shall not take occasion to disert, or deny me, at the time of my Sufferings.* (see also *Matth.* 17. 27. 18. 6. 26. 31. 33.) Therefore this Basphemer here applyes to himself the very words of the Apostle speaking of Christ crucified; nay, the very words of Christ himself, to induce the poor People to believe, that the very cause of the *Covenanters*, is the very cause of Christianity, and so deter them, upon the Execution of the Rebels, from quitting the cursed Rebellious cause.

me, I bless the Lord, my [p] *heart doth not Condemn me*, *Rebellious I have not been*, neither do I judge it to be Rebellion for me to have indeavoured in my capacity what possible I could for the born-down and [q] *Ruined Interest of our Lord and Master*, and for the relief of my poor Brethren,

[p] Is not this in effect to assert with the *Jesuits*, That a good intention, or meaning, doth hallow a bad Action.

[q] He means by *Episcopacy* and *Supremacy*, with respect to the former, of which the Interest of Christ was universally ruined from the time of the Apostles till the *French*-Reformation, and with respect to the latter, from the time of *Constantine* the first Christian Emperour, till the time when the Popes under the pretended Vicarship of Christ, (the King of *Sion*) Subjected the Empire unto the Church. And therefore (good Christian People) is not this a blessed cause, which must have obliged Christians to separate from the Catholick Church in the purest times, the age of the Apostles (for they were Bishops) and the age next unto them, and to have rebelled under a pretence of Religion, and defending the Interest of Christ against the first Christian Emperors, to whom the *Greek*, and *Latin* Churches attributed as much Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters, and over Ecclesiastical Persons, as the *English* and *Scottish* do to the King. They [a] convocated general Councils, sat in them among the Patriarchs, Bishops, and Presbyters, made [b] Orations upon Ecclesiastical matters to them, and by their [c] Subscriptions consented to, and confirmed, what was determined therein. And Councils, wherein they did not sit, used always to beseech them to [d] ratify their Decrees, Βεβαιοῦν, ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι ἐπιστραγίζεσθαι, κρατοῦν, ἐπιχυροῦν, κρατύνειν γράμμασι Συνόδου τὴν ψῆφον. They had power to [e] erect new Bishopricks, to abolish old ones, to [f] dispense with the Ecclesiastical Canons, and to order many things in Church-Matters, which were not defined therein, as is plain out of the *Code* and *Novelles*, and the *Capitularia*, of the ancient *French* Kings. They were Priviledged to come to the [g] *Altar*, when all other Laies were forbidden, and the Clergy to shew how sacred their Persons were, and that the concerns of the Church ought to be their chief care [h] called them *Priests*, and *Bishops*, which in these days would pass for *Episcopal tantivies*, as the traiterous Author of the *Appeal* thinks he wittily speaks. There consent was requisite to the Election of Bishops, nay, they often nominated the Persons to be Elected, and had power to [i] forbid the Bishops to Ordain, which by the leave of the *Romish* and *Kirk*-Writers, I take to be a *Privative* power. Lastly, They had

a 1 *Con. Nicen.* by *Constant.* 1 *Cor. Constantinop.* by *Theodos. Sen. Con. Eph.* by *Theodos. Junior. Con. Chalced*, by *Marcion.*

b c *Syn. Oecumen. Octava.* Where are the Speeches, and Subscriptions of *Basilius* the Emporor, and *Leo.*

d *Epist. Concil. Constantinop.* 1. *ad Theodosium.*

e *Can.* 12. and 16. *Concil. Chalced. Balsam. in* 16. *can. Concil Carthag.*

f As *Theodosius* in the Election of *Nectarius.*

g 69. *Can. Concil. Sexti in Trullo.*

h *Grot. de imperio summar. potest.* c. 2. 7.

i *Novil.* 3. c. 1. *Sancimus igitur.* The reason, which the Emperor *Justinian* gave for that Law, was the excessive number of the *Clergy*, which was disproportionate to the Places, and Revenue of the Church. The Law and the Preface to it, deserves to be considered by the Right Reverend, and worthy Fathers of our Church.

a power

† *Novil.* 123. c. 1. *Sancimus igitur, quoties Epiſcopum opus fuerit ordinari ------ſed etiam illum qui præter hoc preſumpſerit ordinare, ſegregari uno anno a ſacro miniſterio.*

k *Cod.* l. 1 *Tit.* 1. 6. *Anathematizamus Neſtorium,* 2. *Eutychetem,* 3. *Apollinarium.*

l The Author of the Apology.

m *Calder-Woods altare Damaſcenum. Naturâ inſitum eſt omnibus regibus odium in Chriſtum.* The ſame is to be found in *Rutherfords Lex Rex.*

a power to ſuſpend † Biſhops, and Presbyters, and alſo to k *Anathematize* Hereticks, which ſignified a power of pronouncing them rightly and duly Anathematized, and of doing many other things, with reſpect to the Church-matters, and Church-men, and becauſe the two Siſter-Churches and their Clergy aſſert as much power to be due to the King in ſuch Cauſes, as the Kings of *Judah*, and the Chriſtian Emperors had, therefore the *Kirk-Preachers* call them l *Epiſcopal-Eraſtian* Churches, and their Miniſters, and Biſhops, *Court-Paraſites*, and when they argue from the example of the beſt *Judæan* Kings, and the moſt Pious Chriſtian Emperors; m They can tell them by Autority that in all *Kings there is a natural enmity againſt Chriſt*; nay, they tell the People, that the Biſhops, and their Clergy have ruined the Intereſt of Chriſt; and that if they will have Chriſt for their King, they muſt riſe up to deſtroy the Idol of Supremacy, and Anti-chriſtian Prelacy which ſupports it; and therefore this miſerable Wretch, being conſcious to himſelf of ſo good a Cauſe, ſaith, His heart did not condemn him of Rebellion, for having endeavoured in his poor capacity to uphold the born-down, and ruined Intereſt of Chriſt. I once had the diverſion to hear a Kirk-Diſciple rail at the *Reſcinding Act*, and *Act of Supremacy*, which gave me occaſion to ſhew what great power the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches granted to be due to the Chriſtian Emperors in Church-matters, to which he anſwered me, That it was always natural to Clergy-men to flatter Kings, and Emperors, and great men, juſt as I have read in one of the Letters which Mr.---ſent to all the Biſhops of *Scotland*, *That Pride was always a natural ſin to the Clergy*, which he ſpoke upon the occaſion of their keeping of Coaches, and admitting of their Secular Titles, for which I likewiſe find them cenſured by the Viperous Author of the *Reformed Biſhop*, Printed lately at *London*.

Afflicted and r *Perſecuted*, not only in their Liberties, Priviledges, and Perſons, but alſo in their Lives, therefore it was that I joyned with a

r It hath always been the cuſtom of Sectaries to miſcall the Execution of the Laws, by the odious name of Perſecution, which common People, who ſeldom conſider, that the righteouſneſs of the Cauſe, and not the ſufferings of the Proſecuted make Perſecution, are apt to think is really ſuch, as often as men ſuffer upon a pretended religious account. Therefore I will take an occaſion from the abuſe of the word by this Deceiver, to declare from the words of our Bleſſed Redeemer, That Perſecution in the *active ſence* is Inflicting, and in the *paſſive*, ſuffering of Evil for *Righteouſneſs ſake*. Whoſoever then is truly Perſecuted, muſt be proſecuted for matters of profeſſed *Faith*, or *Principles*, or for matters of *Practice*. Upon the former account a man is Perſecuted, when he is proſecuted either for profeſſing (under which I comprehend Preaching and Teaching) a true Doctrine, which he is bound to profeſs, as the Apoſtles were perſecuted by the *Jews* for profeſſing Jeſus to be the Chriſt, or for remonſtrating againſt a falſe Doctrine, which he is bound to remonſtrate againſt, as the ſame Apoſtles were perſecuted for oppoſing this Doctrine, that *Moſes* his Law was to be obſerved under Chriſt. But whoſoever is perſecuted for matters of practiſe, is proſecuted either for matters of *Divine Worſhip*, which concern the firſt Table, or for *Matters of Morality*, which belong to the Second, for there is no *Righteouſneſs*, or Righteous cauſe, which is not reducable to one of theſe Two. With reſpect to matters of Divine Worſhip, a man is perſecuted either upon a *Negative account*, for not Worſhipping a falſe god, like the Three Children in *Daniel*, or elſe for not Worſhipping the true God in a falſe way; as St. *Paul*, and the other Apoſtles were perſecuted by the *Sanhedrim*, for not Worſhipping God according to the *Jewiſh* manner, after it was abrogated; and theſe are the two Sorts of Perſecution, which moſt ordinarily occur in reading the Scriptures. Or 2*ly*. Upon a poſitive account for Worſhipping the true God in a true way, or to expreſs it in the Sectaries own terms, *for Serving of God*, as *Daniel* was caſt into the Lions Den for Praying to God againſt the Kings Decree. With reſpect to matters of *Morality*, a man is alſo Perſecuted two ways; Firſt, Upon a *Negative account*, when he is Proſecuted for not doing ſomething, which is in its own nature, or by Gods poſitive Command Morrally Evil: as the good Midwives were in danger of being Proſecuted by *Pharaoh*, for not Murdering the *Hebrew*-Infants. Or 2*ly*. Upon a *poſitive account*, when he is Proſecuted for doing ſome good

The true notion of Perſecution ſtated.

good Deed, which in ſuch and ſuch circumſtances ought to be done, as our bleſſed Lord was Proſecuted by the Phariſees for opening the Eyes of the Blind, and healing on the Sabbath-day.

Covenanters not Perſecuted.

Theſe diſtictions being premiſed, let us ſee, in which of theſe caſes the Covenanters are Perſecuted, or, which is all one, for what they are Martyrs: For no man is Perſecuted, but as far as he is Perſecuted he is a Martyr, and by his Suffeaings bears Witneſs to the righteous Cauſe, for which he Suffers.

Firſt Then, they are not Perſecuted, when they are Proſecuted for profeſſing the Principles of their Party; becauſe they are Falſe, Impious, or both. For contrary to the Univerſal Church of God, they hold, that Epiſcopacy is an Unſcriptural, and Antichriſtian Conſtitution; That it is a ſin to take Epiſcopal Orders, or directly or indirectly to [a] own the Authority of the Biſhops, and [b] unlawfull to hear them or their Clergy Preach. Nay, That it is lawfull to kill them, if they [c] inform Authority, or Preach, or Write againſt them; That the Uſe of the [d] Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments is Superſtitious, and Idolatrous, That the Common-Prayer is an Idol; That the obſervation of [e] Holy-days, (the ſame Apoſtolical not excepted) private Baptiſms, private Communions, and Confirmation, are unlawful, Superſtitious, and Popiſh; That the Presbyterian Government is of Divine Inſtitution; That the [f] ſolemn League and Covenant cannot be reſcinded by any power on Earth, but obligeth us and our Poſterity for ever; and that it is lawfull to kill thoſe that [g] Apoſtatize from it; That the Oath of Allegiance in *Scotland*, and the Oath of Supremacy in *England*, ought not to be taken; and That the [h] Act of Supremacy unkings Chriſt; That it is unlawful to appear at Biſhops [i] Courts, or before the [k] High-Commiſſion-Court; That the Supream Magiſtrate cannot ſilence a Miniſter, nor indict a Faſt, (which the good Kings of *Judah*, and *Iſrael*, and the King of *Nineveh* did) That the [l] People have a Right to defend themſelves, and their Covenanted Religion; That [m] preſentations to Livings in the Church, by Lay-Perſons, and Collations by Biſhops, is Popiſh and unlawful, not to mention all their other Principles, which are occaſionally mentioned in theſe Animadverſions. But if all theſe, and their other Doctrines, which they profeſs in oppoſition to the Church and State, be Falſe or Impious, or both, as moſt aſſuredly they are, then they are not Perſecuted, but juſtly puniſhed, when they are Proſecuted upon this account. *Q. E. D.* This made my Lord *Bacon* truly ſay, That they are the men which propagate Religion by Wars, force Conſciences, yet cry out, their Conſciences are forced; that nurſe Seditions, authorize Conſpiracies and Rebellions, and put the Swords in the Peoples hand; that ſanctifie Tumults, Preach off the Heads of Kings, and overthrow Conſtitutions, and Government; that undermine Laws, and Settlement; that reſiſt for Conſcience-ſake, and teach others to die for their Salvation; that make Chriſt a raiſer of Sedition, and his Religion a Firebrand; that deſpiſe Dominions, and ſpeak evil of Dignities, and yet pretend to fear God. And therefore the Magiſtrate is ſo far from Perſecuting the men of ſuch profeſſed Principles, that he is bound by that Truſt which God hath repoſed in him, to proſecute them with ſevere Puniſhments, as being pernicious, not only to his Government, but the Souls of his Subjects, who by virtue of theſe damnable Doctrines, will be in a conſtant diſpoſition to Rebellion in this World, and in danger of Damnation in the World to come. Neither are they Perſecuted for remonſtrating againſt falſe Doctrines; For the Doctrines againſt which they remonſtrate, are but contradictions of their own Principles, which I have already proved to be falſe. It remains then, That if they are Perſecuted, it is in being Proſecuted for *Matters of Practice*, either upon the account of *Divine Worſhip*, which belongs to the Firſt Table; or for *Matters of Morality*, which belong to the Second. Upon this latter Score, they cry out of Perſecution, firſt upon a poſitive account, when they are proſecuted for harbouring, hideing, and maintaining

a. b. *See the Apologetical Narration, and the Apology.*

c. *For them they are Perſecuting Prelates.*

d. *A great Apoſtle of the Covenant, Elder Brother to Dr.* Owen, *ſaid, that the common Uſe of the Lords Prayer was a* Papiſtical Charm. *And a Miniſter of* Galloway *thanked God, that he had baniſhed two Holy out of his Pariſh,* Our Father, *and* I believe in God.

e. *See Biſhop* Lindſeys *Narration of the Aſſembly at* Derth.

f. *The Apologetical Narration, and almoſt all their Books.*

g. *This was the true ground of their implacable hatred to the Marqueſs of* Montroſs, *and the late Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews.

h. *The Apologetical Narration, ſee Note y on the firſt Speech.*

i. k. *The Apologet. Narrat. and Napht.* page 126. *ſaith, That their Oppreſſions, and grievances by reaſon of this Court alone, do far exceed the preſſures, and injuries of the* Spaniſh Inquiſition; *wherupon the* United Provinces *have juſtified their Revolt from the King of* Spain.

l. Jus Populi Vindicatum. *Apologet. Narr.* Sect. 11.

m. *Apologet. Narr.* Sect. 9. *The Apology.* Mitchels *larger Speech in* Rav. Red. *Though the Right of Patronage is far Elder than Popery, as is evident from that Law of* Juſtinian Novel. 123. c. 18. Siquis oratorii domum fabricaverit, *and the Council of* Toled. 9. *c.* 2. decernimus ut quamdiu fundatores Eccleſiarum.

taining

taining declared and attainted Traitors, who act according to the foresaid Principles, contrary to expresi Law; † Fallaciously pretending, That common humanity and charity obligeth them to relieve, and assist such miserable Persons, who, it may be, are their Fathers, or Sons, or Brothers, or Ministers, to whom they are related in Christ; or for not obeying lawful Authority, when they are called in his Majesties name to assist in Seizing of them, or Searching for them, and for not repairing to the *Kings Host*, (according to the most ancient Law of the Kingdom) when the Covenanters rise up to destroy the Government of Church and State. But if it be a Sin to harbour a Traitor, be he who he will, or not to assist at his apprehension according to Law, and to refuse in a time of Rebellion to repair to the Kings Standard when legally called; If these things, I say, be Sins, as every thing must be which is contrary to the Allegiance of Subjects, the Laws of the Countrey, and the Duty which every Man owes to the Publick-Weal; then they are not Persecuted, but justly punished, when they are prosecuted on this account.

† *I say* Fallaciously: *For as* Cicero *writes lib.* 3. *Offic.* Patria Praestat omnibus officijs, filius patriæ Salutem anteponet Saluti patris. *and lib.* 1. *Offic.* omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior, quàm ea, quæ cum repub. est unicuique nostrùm, Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium Caritates patria una complexa est. Sed si contentio quandam est & comparatio fiat, quibus plurimum tribuendum sit officii; principes sunt *Patria*, & Parentes.

They also pretend to be Persecuted under this Head, upon a Negative account, when they are Prosecuted for *not* † deponing in the matter of Field-Meetings, according to the Act of Parliament, *Caroli* 2. *Sessien.* 2. *Act.* 2. which obligeth them, (as they object) without exception of Persons, the Father to inform against the Son, the Husband against his Wife, *&c.* against Justice, Mercy, and Equity, and for *not* rendring themselves according to the Kings Proclamations, and lastly, for *not* appearing, when they are cited before the Courts. But if it is the Duty of the neerest ‡ Relation; for example, of the Father to depone against the Son, when he is required by the Father of the Countrey, the King, (with respect to whom they are both Sons) or which is all one by the Law; and if it also be the Duty of every [1] criminal Subject to render himself to Justice, uncalled; much more when he is commanded by his lawful Sovereign to do it, and to [2] appear upon due citation before his competent Judge, then these men who are real delinquents upon these Scores, are not Persecuted, but justly punished, when they are Fin'd, Imprisoned, Transported, Banished, or Outlaw'd, and denounced Rebels upon the aforesaid accounts.

† *See Note* (a) *in the first Speech, and the* Apology *Sect.* 2. *Where the Author compares this Act, to the Oath* de super inquirendis, *used in the Inquisition.*

‡. Quod si tyrannidem occupare, si patriam prodere conabitur pater, filiusne filius? imo vero obsecrabit patrem ne id faciat, si nihil proficiet accusabit, minabitur etiam; ad extremum si ad perniciem patriæ res spectabit, patriæ salutem anteponet saluti patris.

1. *For there is no other way left to satisfy the Law.*

2. *For, not to appear, is Contempt, and Contumacy.*

It remains then, That we require, whether they are Persecuted for matters of Divine Worship, either upon a negative or positive account. First Then, they pretend not to be Persecuted for *not* Worshipping a false God, because the Church-Congregations worship the same God, and Saviour, which they themselves do. But then they pretend, with mighty cragical Exaggerations, to be Persecuted for *not* Worshipping this true God in a false way; crying out, as often as they speak of the breach of the Covenant, † *Of Rebellion, Blasphemy, and perfidy against God, of Contempt of him, of overturning the Work of the Gospel, of promoting the Kingdom of darkness, and Antichrist*; *nay, as if the Church had vowed Idolatrous, of Apostatizing from God, of rejecting Christ, and overturning the Work of his Spirit, and Arms, &c.* and when all comes to all, they are so far from being Persecuted for not Worshipping of God in any false, unfitting, or unscriptural way, (their own Consciences being Judge) that the way after which the Church-Congregations worship him, is the very same with their own, without Form in any Office, or Ceremony of any sort. But if the Church of *Scotland* Worship'd God by one prescribed Form, and had appointed Ceremonies as her Sister-Church, according to the example of the Primitive-Churches, hath done; yet, this would not prove their Sufferings upon the account of Separation to be Persecution, unless they could prove, that Forms, and Ceremonies in the general are unlawful, which can never be proved; or that those particular Forms, and Ceremonies which they were bound to observe, were unlawful; and then indeed their plea would be good. Nothing can be replied to this, but that, though the manner of Worship be the same in Churches, and Conventicles, yet the Ministery is not; but that the *Church-Ministery* by Bishops, and Presbyters Episcopally Ordained is unlawful: which Assertion supposeth, that if it be lawful, then they are justly punished,

† *Naphtal.* page 2.

nished, and not Persecuted for not going to Church; and either it must be granted to be lawful, or else the Ministery of the Universal Church was unlawful for above 1500. years.

There remains then nothing, but to assert, That they are punished upon a positive account, *for serving of God, or for Worshipping of him in a true Way.* That the way by which they publickly Worship God, is a true way; as to the substance of the Worship, were their Presbyterian, and Schismatical Ministery valid, I would not deny: but then because there are many true ways of publick Worship, Subjects, like the Children, and Servants of a Family, ought publickly to Worship God in that true way of Worship which the Supream Magistrate, the Father of the Nation, doth appoint. I will put this case to the *Covenanters*: There's none of them dare deny, but that the *French*, and *Helvetian* Churches Worship God in a true way, and that the reformed Church of *Scotland* likewise worshipped him in a true way, when *Mr. Knoxes* Liturgy, which is almost the same with that of the *French* Church, was in Use. Now therefore, I desire they would tell me, That supposing the Presbyterian Government were legally Established in *Scotland*, together with that unprescribed Formless way of Worship, which they now use, Whether a Separating Party refusing to come to Church, because they would Worship God according to the *French* Liturgy, or that of *Mr. Knoxes*, would be guilty of Schism, or no? If they say, yes, as by their own Principles, and in common reason they are bound to do; then I desire to know, Whether the Supream Power may not forbid their Separate Meetings, and command them to come to Church under certain Pains, and Penalties, and might not most justly inflict them, if they disobeyed? They cannot say no, by their own Principles, and Practices, as well as out of common reason; and if they say yes, then they acknowledge in another case, that they are justly punished, and not Persecuted for meeting to worship God in Conventicles, against the penal Laws.

But furthermore, It is not sufficient, that the substance of publick Worship be true, unless the Circumstances of it be also due. It would (for example) be a very punishable exorbitancy for any Party of conforming People in *England* to meet illegally in Fields, or Houses, or at Midnight in Churches, to Celebrate Divine Service by the Book of Common-Prayer, although they pretended for their Vindication, That it was against their Consciences to Pray or Communicate with Profane Persons, who come to the Churches, or to have their Christian liberty abridged by legal confinement to Time, and Place. This is the very case of the Field-Fanaticks, who though they worship God in the same way as the Church-Congregations do, as to the substance of the Worship; Yet, notwithstanding their pretence, that they dare not own the Church-Ministery, they are justly punished, and not Persecuted for their Irregularities, and Transgressions in the legal circumstances thereof.

But lastly, Though the way in which they meet to Worship God, were not only true, but as excellent as they imagine it to be; nay, were they the only true Christians in the World, and their Magistrates Idolaters, or Atheists, yet, they have no reason to say they are Persecuted, when they are punished on this account; because the Laws, which forbid them to meet in such a manner, allow every Family with a certain number of Strangers, to worship God in what manner they like best; and were they of the Principles, and Temper of the Primitive Christians, they would be so far from complaining of Persecution, that they would be thankful to God, and the Powers, for so much indulgence, and strive by their peaceable behaviour to procure more.

But then, If they be considered as a People of Treasonable, Seditious, and Schismatical Principles and Practices, that have long lived in a State of Rebellion, and twice actually Rebelled in the space of 13. years; The punishments which they complain of, will be so far from looking like Persecution, that they must be acknowledged by all, but themselves, the just Demerits of their Crimes. They complain indeed of Persecution, whereas they themselves have been, and are the greatest Persecuters in the World. It is notoriously known, with what violence they formerly Persecuted the Bishops, and all who durst adhere to them and the Church. They Tyrannically usurped Authority to depose, and Excommunicate them all in 1638. because (as the Act bears) they had been Consecrated to the Episcopal Office, condemned by the Confession of Faith, and Acts of that Kirk, as having *no Warrant in the Word of God*; whereas

Covenanters great Persecuters and Tyrants.

1. *Called in the* Harmony, Scoticana Confessio.

2. *Called in the* Harmony, Generalis confessio, *and by the Covenanters, The* National Covenant.

whereas there is not one syllable against it, either in the 1 larger, or 2 shorter Confession of Faith. They usurped authority over Mens Consciences, in a most Tyrannical Popish manner; not only by taking upon them to loose Mens Consciences from the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to the King, and of Canonical obedience to the Bishops, (the last of which they declared to be unlawful in their Assembly, *Decemb. 5th.* 1638.) but they imposed the Covenant on all men, under the penalty of Banishment, Forfeiture of Estates, and Excommunication, taking away from all those who refused it, both Heaven and Earth, as far as they could, at one Blow. Nay, as much as they could, they forced the Conscience of the late King, of blessed Memory, not suffering him to Serve God in his own Family according to his own way, which was by the *Common-Prayer*. The general Assembly in *August* 1640. made an Act against *Expectants*, (or young Students in Divinity) who should refuse to subscribe the Covenant, by which they declared them uncapable of Preaching, Reading in a Church, or Teaching School, or Residing in any Colledge, or University; and if they continued obstinate, to be Excommunicated; and yet they now complain of the King, Parliament, and Council, for obliging Expectants, and Scholars, at their Laureation to take the Oath of Allegiance, which is their Duty to do. They were not only content to declare Episcopacy to be Popish, and Antichristian, but in an Act of Assembly 1638. they declared, That it was abjured in the *National Covenant* 1581. under these words, *The Popes wicked Hierarchy*, (a *Bull*, or contradiction *in Adjecto*) which as they cite it from the *Council of Trent*, includes the Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; so that if Bishops were abjured by them who took the National Covenant under the *Popes Hierarchy*, how came it to pass, that they did not abjure Priests and Deacons too? They made an *Act of Assembly*, August 3*d.* 1648. for Censuring of Ministers, who spoke not to the corruptions of the time, *i. e.* for not Preaching, and Praying against the Engagement for delivering the late King out of Prison; and in Prosecuting this Act, Mr. *William Colvil* was deposed, though he was a most learned and worthy man, for not reading the Causes of a Fast which they appointed; which puts me in mind of what *Queen Mary Stuart* was used to say, That *she was as much afraid of a Fast of the Ministers, as of an Army of Souldiers.* In another *Act of Assembly, July* 20. 1649. they Ordained, that all that had been accessory to the Engagement 1648. should be processed, and made solemnly to renounce it, as sinful and unlawful, and in their *Seasonable warning, July* 27. 1649. *They call the Defeat of this noble and pious Design by* Cromwell, *a great mercy to the People of God, and say, it ought to be perpetually remembred, and that all men ought to bless God for it*; and page 10. *they say, That if the King, or any for him shall Invade this Land, in order to his Establishment, it will be a necessary Duty to resist and oppose him*; *and* page 11. *so long as the King refuses to hearken to the desires of the Kirk and State, it is consonant to the Scripture, Reason, and the Laws of the Kingdom to refuse to admit him to the Exercise of his Government, till he give satisfaction in these things*; and *in their Letter to the King*, page 30. *they say, That his refusing to satisfie their desires, was nothing else but an Opposing of the Kingdom of the Son of God, and a Refusing to let him Reign over him and his Kingdoms*; *and That his Entertaining of* James Graham, *will bring on him and his Throne the guilt of all the Blood that he, and his Accomplices had shed*; and page 31. *they exhort him to lament for the iniquities of his Fathers House, and especially for his opposition to Religion and the Cause of God, the permitting and practising of Antichristian Prelacy in the Royal Family it self, and the Shedding of so much Blood of the People of God.*

In one of their Acts, they inhibit the Lords Supper to be Administred to any Person, but who should first subscribe the Covenant, which they also forced young Students, and fresh men in the Universities to take; and if any of them who were insnared in it in their youth, chance to be Clergy-men, especially Bishops; then the Covenanters have a just ground to conspire their Destruction, for being *Apostates* from the Cause. They (here I include their Predecessors) Persecuted Queen *Mary*, King *James*, threatning to Excommunicate him, and his whole Council, King *Charles* the First of blessed Memory, and his Majesty who now Reigns, (and whom God preserve from Falling into their hands again) knows by former and latter experiences, what a Persecuting spirit they are of. What cruelty did they use against all those who refused to sign the Covenant, or who broke it upon being convinced what a bond of iniquity it was? They were declared to be Rebels, and denounced Enemies both to God and Man; Their Persons were Seized, their Goods Confiscate; and in *Novemb.* 1643. when some

of

of the moſt Eminent Nobility refuſed to Seal it; Commiſſions were given to Soldiers to bring them in Priſoners, and to kill them if they made Reſiſtance. What bloody Tribunals were Erected at St. *Andrews*, *Glaſcow*, and *Edinburgh*? How many Noblemen, and Gentlemen of good Quality were moſt Barbarouſly Murdered (eſpecially the Heroick *Montroſs*) for obeying their Sovereign's Commiſſion? and how did the Covenanters rejoyce, when the Scaffolds were reeking with their Blood; One of their Miniſters Preached then, That *the work of Reformation went Bonnily on.* Another in his Prayer Blaſphemouſly ſaid, *Lord ſend us more Scaffold-Work.* A Fanatical Lady in the Weſt, ſaid, That *the Covenant could not be Advanced but by Blood.* And many Miniſters were then Depoſed for not Preaching for it, and for ſpeaking Civilly to *Montroſs*, and Praying with him; by name, Mr. *Robert Traw* of *Egleſholm*, and many others, as their own Regiſters yet do ſhew. And then for the *Rump* of the old Faction ſtill remaining, how do They Perſecute the Church, and her Clergy with their utmoſt Malice and Power? There was an Act of Parliament expreſſly made for Securing the Perſons, Families, and Goods of Miniſters, 1669. and another againſt Aſſaulting of Miniſters, 1670. And the Author of *Naphtali* pag. 134. Exhorts all People, To *acquit themſelves like Men, and pull the Biſhops out of the Sanctuary, that the Wrath of God may be averted in the Righteous Puniſhment of thoſe wicked Men.* Accordingly, Mr. *James Mitchel* attempted to Murder the late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*; and in his larger Speech in *Ravillac Red.* he ſaith, *They are all Bleſſed, that ſhall take the Proud Prelates, and daſh their Brains againſt the Stones.* And what he attempted was at laſt Succeſsfully Effected by † 10. *Field-Zelots of the ſame Principles*, whereof ſome had Ridden a long time in the Field-Preachers Guards. And in the middle of laſt *October*, Three Fanatick Ruffians knocked down one Mr. *Malne* a Church-Miniſter, in the Streets of *Glaſcow*, when the *Juſtice-Eyre* was Sitting there. And I profeſs, when I conſider in what a *Perſecuted* Condition the Biſhops and Clergy of our Siſter-Church are, my heart bleeds for them; and methinks I hear them now crying out with one Voice to his Sacred Majeſty, as the Diſciples cry'd to our Saviour in the Storm, *Save us, or elſe we Periſh.*

† *Viz.* by *John Balfour* of *Kinlock*, *David Haxton* of *Rathillet*, *George Balfour* in *Gilſton*, *James Ruſſel* in *Kettle*, *Robert Dingwall* in *Caddam*, *Andrew Guillan* in *Balmerinoch*, *Alexander Henderſon*, and *Andrew* his Brother in *Kilbrachmont*, *George Fleming* in *Balbuthy.*

* *poor handful*; The Lord knows, who is the ſearcher of hearts, that neither my Deſign nor Practice was againſt his *Majeſties Perſon and*

s. Or as ſome of their great Apologiſts, and Patrons were pleaſed to repreſent them at *London*, *A Poor, Innocent, Peaceable ſort of People, who only deſired to ſerve God according to their own Conſciences*; (and truly ſo they do when they rebell and Murder) but how well they deſerved this Character, the World ſaw, and his Majeſty Felt, as ſoon as they got into their great Evangeliſt *Naphtalu probable capacity*; and had they won the firſt Battel, we ſhould have ſeen and felt more.

juſt t *Government*, but I always ſtudied to be Loyal to lawful Authority in *the Lord*; I thank God my heart doth not condemn me of any Diſloyalty; I have been Loyal, and I recommend it to all to be Obedient

t. No, Not againſt his Majeſties Perſon, but againſt his Evil Counſellors, as he would have ſpoken in the Covenanting Style, and not againſt his Juſt Government, but againſt his *Supremacy*, and his Legiſlations againſt the Covenant, which make his Government Unjuſt, and himſelf a Tyrant, an Idolater, and an Enemy to Chriſt; and then how the People ought to deal with him under that Notion and Character, will be worth the while to ſee. *Buchanan* in his *Dialogue de jure Regni* ſaith, *That it is as Lawful and Meritorious to kill Tyrants, as Wolves, and Bears, and their Whelps; and that thoſe who do ſuch noble Acts, ought to be rewarded by all Men.* He ſaith alſo, That *the Pople are more Excellent, and Greater than the King, and have as much Power over him, as he hath over any one of them; and that when he is called to be Judged by them, a leſs is cited by the greater; and that if he will not come to be Judged, they may kill him like a Night-Thief any way, and That he ought to be compelled by Force*

of Arms. Napht. pag. 71. ſaith, in the words of Mr. *Robert Duglaſs*, who Preached at his Majeſties Coronation in *Scotland*, That *Breach of Covenant and Rebellion againſt God, was an old continued Sin in the Kings Houſe, which God had always ſeverely Puniſhed: If therefore the King ſhould not acknowledge Jeſus Chriſt King of* Sion, *who is above him, but Break the Covenant; Gods Controverſy againſt the Kings Family would be carried on to the Weakning, if not Overthrowing of it. Sam. Rutherford* the Author of *Lex Rex*, ſaith, *That the King is no King*, (then a Tyrant) *but Covenanting-ways, and Conditionally; and that by the Covenant the People have a Civil Claim againſt him, and may Puniſh him in Courts ſet up by themſelves, and may reſume what Power he hath; for he is but their Subject, and Vaſſal*; And page 178. calls *Mariana* his Elder Brother, (whom even *Gavan* the Jeſuit in his dying Speech ſeemed to Condemn) *an approved Author. Knox* in his Hiſtory of Reformation, *pages* 392, 393. ſaith, *That Subjects may not only Lawfully Oppoſe themſelves to their Kings, whenſoever they do any thing which oppugnes Gods Command, but that they may alſo Execute Judgment upon them according to Gods Law. So that, if the King be a Murderer, Idolater, Adulterer, &c.* he *ſhall Suffer according to Gods Law, not as a King, but as an Offender*; and *Lex Rex* ſaith, That the *Sanhedrim ought, and ſhould have put* David *to Death.* And page. 77, and 78. *Knox* alſo ſaith, *That it is not Birthright nor Propinquity of Blood, that makes a King to reign lawfully over a People Profeſſing Chriſt; and if Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth, then Subjects are freed from their Oath of Obedience, and may riſe up againſt him in Arms.* And one Mr. *Goodman* one of *Knoxes* Companions, in his Book of Obedience, as *Philanax Anglicus* cites him, *page* 50. ſaith theſe words: *It is a Duty incumbent on all People, ſeverely to proſecute all Idolaters, none to be excepted, neither King, nor Queen, nor Emperor. This is Gods Commandment to the People, That in caſe of ſuch a Defection, they Seize upon their Princes that would ſeduce them from God, and carry them away to the Gallows; and hang them up. Napht.* in his Preface ſaith, *That if the King, after the Example of Antichriſtian or* Pagan *Nations, will inſtitute and appoint Needleſs, Vain, Superſtitious, Burdenſome Rites, no man needs denounce, but rather fear the Perſonal Doom Executed upon* Saul *and* Uzza, *for Uſurping the Prieſts Office*; And page 150. he ſaith, That *through the manifeſt and notorious Perverſion of the great Ends of Society and Government; the bond thereof being Diſſolved, the Perſons, one or more, thus liberated from it, do relapſe into their Primeve Liberty, and Privilege; and accordingly, as the Similitude of their Caſe, and Exigence of their Cauſe do require, may upon the very ſame Principles again joyn, and aſſociate for their better Defence and Preſervation, as they did at firſt enter into Societies.* Mr. *Robert Blair* when he was Regent in the Colledge of *Glaſcow*, taught his Scholars, That *Monarchy was an unlawful Government, for* which he was Preferred at St. *Andrews*; Mr. *Calderwood* in his *Altare Damaſcenum*, did not only ſay in general, *That in all Kings, naturally, there was an hatred to Chriſt*; but in particular called King *James*, *A moſt inſenſe Enemy to the Purity of Religion*; and yet Mr. *Baily* in his Anſwer to *Iſſachars* Burden, *page* 65. ſays, That *this man was of greater Worth than all the Prelates that* Scotland *ever bred, put them altogether.* Conformable to theſe Principles, a Caball of the firſt Covenanting Lords wrote a Treaſonable Letter to the *French King*; ſome ſay, To crave his Aid againſt their own Natural Soyereign *Charles the Firſt.* The Letter was Subſcribed by *Rothes, Montroſs, Leſly, Marre, Montgomery, Loudonne*, and *Forreſter*; but by Gods good Providence, and the Abhorrence which another Lord ſhew'd to Subſcribe it, it was laid aſide, and never ſo much as Addreſſed, *Au Roy tres Chriſtien*, although, as I have heard, The Earl of *Trequaire*, who ſhewed the King the Original, folded it up, and wrote upon it *Au Roy.* I have heard, That *Montroſs* was the Penner of it, which I therefore obſerve, to ſhew how dangerous theſe *Kirk-Jeſuits* are in the State, ſince they Perverted not only the Common People, but ſo many of the great Nobility, and thoſe who were men of the greateſt Parts. See Sir *Richard Bakers* Chron. *page* 507. and in *page* 536. he ſaith, That the *Iriſh* Rebels to juſtifie their Rebellion, alledged, That they Rebelled againſt the *Tyrannical* Government that was over them, after the Example of *Scotland*, which had got great Privileges by that Courſe. As if they had declared in the words of this Traitor, That they had no Deſign *againſt his Majeſties Perſon and Juſt Government, but had always Studied to be Loyal in the Lord.*

to higher Powers *in* u *the Lord.* And that I Preached at Field-Meetings, which is the other ground of my Sentence; I am ſo far from acknowledging that the Goſpel Preached that way, is a Rendezvouzing in Rebellion, as it is ſo termed; that I bleſs the Lord that ever counted me worthy to be Witneſs of ſuch Meetings, which have been wonderfully Countenanced and owned, not only

u. He means according to the Covenant, and as far as the King ſhould favour the Presbyterian Government, and ſubmit his Scepter to the *Scepter of Chriſt. Otherwiſe to Obey him would be a Sin, for then he would go out of his Line and Order, ſo as to Command contrary to God; and then the Subjects not Obeying him, is not Diſobedience to the Magiſtrate, but Obedience to God, who in this caſe becomes their immediate Superior; and if the People do not thus Reſiſt the Magiſtrate, they Sin againſt God, and their own Souls.* Theſe are the words in the Second Reaſon of the Covenanters Inſtructions for Defenſive Arms, Printed 1638. So *Naphtali*, pag. 157. ſaith, That *Diſobeying the Powers, when they act in the right Line of Subordination, is indeed Rebellion, and as the Sin of Witchcraft; but to Reſiſt and Riſe up againſt Perſons abuſing Sacred Authority, and Rebelling againſt God the Supream, is to Adhere to God as our Liege-Lord, and to Vindicate our Selves, and his Abuſed Ordinance, from Wickedneſs and Tyranny*; and page 151. Explaining theſe words of the Covenant, *In our ſeveral Places, and Callings*; he ſaith, *That every man in his Station is thereby bound to promote the Covenant,* [not by all *lawful*, but] *by all* poſſible *means*; *and if any in higher Place would Seduce their Inferiours into Apoſtacy, then it is their Duty to Reſiſt ſuch Wickedneſs and Violence, and their Calling, to endeavour either the Reformation or Removal of thoſe, who prove ſo Contrary and Deſtructive to the Ends unto which they were Ordained.* How contrary is this *Jeſuitical* Doctrine of the Covenanters, to the Profeſſion and Practice of Primitive Chriſtians, and the Confeſſion of Proteſtant Churches, and eſpecially of the Church of *England*? which Teaches, That Subjects are abſolutely bound to Obey their Sovereign, by actual Obedience, when his Commandments are not Sinful, and when they are ſo, by Paſſive Obedience; after the Example of the Primitive Chriſtians, who patiently and meekly Suffered all ſorts of Puniſhments, and Torments, when they were in a moſt *probable Capacity*, if they had Rebelled. In *Tertullians* time, the Infidels complained, That the Chriſtians were ſo numerous, † *Obſeſſam vociferantur civitatem, in agris, in Caſtellis, in inſulis Chriſtianos: omnem Sexum, ætatem, Conditionem, & jam dignitatem tranſgredi ad hoc nomen murent*; and in his Second Apology, he appeals to the Heathens, If they were not numerous enough to make greater Armies than any were then in the World? telling them, That the Chriſtians had left them nothing but their Temples. *Si enim & hoſtes curtos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deeſſet nobis vis numerorum & copiarum.——beſterni ſumus & veſtra omnia implevimus, urbes, inſulas, Caſtella, municipia concilabula, caſtra ipſa, tribus, decurias, palatium, ſenatum, forum; ſola vobis reliquimus templa cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuiſſemus,*—and in the very next words declares, That the Chriſtian Religion taught them not to Kill, but to be Killed. *Qui tam libenter trucidamur, ſi non apud iſtam Diſciplinam occidi magis liceret, quàm occidere.* But the Covenanters on the contrary, aſſert, (ſee *Lex Rex*, from page 313. to 322.) That no man is bound in Conſcience to paſſive Subjection under unjuſt Puniſhments inflicted by the Magiſtrate, more than to active Obedience to unlawful Commands; paſſive Obedience in that caſe coming under no Command of God. Nay, That it is a Sin againſt God to ſubmit to an unjuſt Sentence, and an Act of Grace and Vertue for a Man to Reſiſt the Magiſtrate Violently, when he doth him Wrong; and Self-Murder, not to Reſiſt when he offers to take our Lives without Cauſe, though not without Law. Nay, He Blaſphemouſly mocks at the very notion of Paſſive Obedience, as a Chimera and a Dream, forgetting who was brought like a Lamb to the Slaughter, and like a Sheep that is Dumb before his Shearers, opened not his mouth. And Mr. *George Gilleſpy* in the Preface to his Printed Sermon before the Houſe of Commons, on *Ezek.* 43. 11. he calls *Preces & lacrymæ ſunt arma Eccleſiæ*, the new *Oxford* Divinity, to the immortal Honour of that Univerſity, which ſo malled the Covenant; and where this Primitive Chriſtian Divinity, (which he moſt ignorantly miſcalled new) will, I hope, be taught to the end of the World. I take the more notice of this, becauſe many of the late Seditious Pamphlets have Lampooned the Doctrine of Paſſive

† 1. *Apolog. & Cyprian ad Demetr. inde eſt quod nemo noſtrûm, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram quamvis nimius & copioſus noſter ſit populus, ulciſcitur.*

Paſſive Obedience aſſerted.

Paſſive Obedience, eſpecially thoſe which have been written againſt the Succeſſion of his Royal Highneſs; and the † Author of *The Hiſtory of the late Civil Wars*, in his Cenſure of the *Whole Duty of Man*. I ſhall for the Confutation of them all, ſet down ſome Texts of Scripture, and the Senſe of ancient Chriſtians on this Subject; and then leave my Reader to judge, whether it be not Blaſphemy to ſcoff at the notion of Paſſive Obedience, and Nonſenſe to ſay, That Rebellion may be juſtified thereby.

† *Pages* 66, 67, 68.

Ameſ. Parentem ſi æquus eſt, ſi iniquus, ferat.

1 *Pet.* 2. 18, 19, 20. *Servants be Subject to your Maſters, not only to the good and gentle, but alſo to the froward; for this is thankworthy, if a man for Conſcience towards God, endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully; for what glory is it if when you are buffetted for your faults you take it patiently; but if when you do well, and ſuffer for it, you take it patiently, this is acceptable with God, for even hereunto were ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo Suffered for us, leaving us an Example, That we ſhould follow his Steps.* And 1 *Pet.* 4. 13, 14, 15. *But rejoyce in as much as you are Partakers of Chriſts Sufferings—for if you are reproached for the name of Chriſt, happy are you; but let none of you Suffer as a Murderer, or a Thief, or an Evildoer—yet if any man Suffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed, but glorifie God on this behalf.* Rev. 13. 10. *He that killeth with the Sword ſhall be killed with the Sword; here is the Patience and Faith of the Saints.* Hebr. 11. 35, 36, 37. *They were Tortured—Scourged—Stoned, Sawn aſſunder, &c.* which St. *Auguſt. de civit. dei*, l. 22. Explains in theſe words, *Neque tunc civitas Chriſti, quamvis tunc peregrinaretur in terris, & haberet tam magnorum agmina populorum adverſus impios perſecutores, pro temporali ſalute pugnavit; ſed potius ut obtineret æternam non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniebantur, trucidabantur, & multipliciabantur, non erat ijs pro ſalute pugnare, niſi ſalutem pro ſalute contemnere.* So Lactantius, *lib.* 5.—*& ideo cum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur, ſed deo remittimus ultionem.* But the *Thebean* Legion which conſiſted of 6666. Soldiers, all Chriſtians, is beyond all other Example. They lay with the reſt of the Army at *Octodurum*, when *Maximianus* the Emperor Commanded, That Sacrifice ſhould be offered unto the Gods. This Command being given, the Chriſtian Legion marched away to a Village called † *Agaunum*, whither the Emperor ſent, to Command them to come, and Sacrifice with the reſt, but they refuſed, whereupon the Emperor Commanded, That every Tenth Man through the whole Legion ſhould be Slain; which was Executed, without the leaſt Shew of Reſiſtance againſt them who were appointed to put them to Death. And *Mauritius* a *Primicerius* of the Legion, beſpoke the Soldiers at the time of Execution, Thus: *I was very much afraid*, Fellow-Soldiers, *leſt any of you, as it is very natural, eſpecially for Armed men to do, ſhould have Reſiſted under the ſpecious pretext of Self-Defence. And I was prepared to forbid you to do ſo, in the Name and by the Example of Chriſt, who Commanded* Peter, *when he drew his Sword, to put it up again; thereby Teaching, &c.*— The firſt Decimation being Executed, the Emperor Commanded the reſt to Sacrifice, who Anſwered him thus: *We are thy Soldiers*, Cæſar, *and have taken up Arms to Defend the Empire, and never yet were Puniſhed either as Deſertors, Traitors, or Cowards, and we would now Obey thee in this particular, but that being Chriſtians we are obliged by our Religion not to Worſhip* Dæmons, *nor approach their Altars, which are polluted with Blood. Thou haſt Commanded us to Sacrifice, or every Tenth Man of us ſhall be put to Death. Know aſſuredly that we are all Chriſtians, who, as to our Bodies, are thy Subjects, but not as to our Souls, which now look up to the Founder of our Religion, Chriſt.* Afterwards *Exuperius* the Standard-Bearer ſpoke unto them thus: *You ſee, Fellow-Soldiers, I bear the Eagle, the Sign of Secular War; but it is not to theſe Arms, that I deſire to provoke you, nor in War of this nature That I would have you ſhew your Valour; but in another way of Combating, by which, and not by your Swords you ſhall win the Kingdom of Heaven.* He left alſo this Meſſage to be ſent to the Emperor: That *Deſperation, which made all other men Valiant in Dangers, could not prevail with them to uſe their Arms againſt his Majeſty, who had refuſed to Reſiſt with their Swords in their hands, becauſe they had rather Die, than get an unlawful Victory; and periſh in Innocency, than Survive in Sin.* All which ſhews, Firſt, That Paſſive Obedience is no Chimæra, but a real Notion; Secondly, That it is the indiſpenſible Duty of all Chriſtians when they are Perſecuted by Authority; and Thirdly, That it is ſo far from juſtifying Rebellion, as the Author of *Behem.* fooliſhly Aſſerts, That it is the only Doctrine which can keep Subjects who are really Perſecuted and Oppreſſed, or phanſie themſelves to be ſo, from Rebelling againſt their Sovereign; and therefore the Popiſh,

† Now St. *Mauritz in Savoy.*

and

and Presbyterian Jesuits, who love to have it in their Power to trouble the Government of Christian Monarchs, declare it to be as great a Sin, as active Obedience to their unlawful Commands. And now, when all Sects, whereof some are not Christians, with great confidence call themselves *Protestants*, upon the account of their Opposition, whether real or pretended, to Popery; I freely declare, That none of them are, or ought to be esteemed so in a strict, and Orthodox sence, but such as Profess the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, as strictly as it was both Professed and Practised in the Primitive Catholick Church. Nay, furthermore, seeing there are some common Maxims of Christian Divinity, which were always professed by the Church Universal for undoubted Truths, although they are not set down expressly, neither in the Scriptures, nor in the Apostles Creed, and the truth of which were never questioned but by some few Hereticks, who had no proportion to the rest; I also assert, That no Man nor Society of Men, how Antipapistical soever they may be, ought to be looked upon as Orthodox Protestants, unless they profess these common Notions of Christianity, without the Belief and Profession of which, none could be counted Orthodox Christians in the Primitive Catholick Church. These common Principles, wherein all Christian Churches agreed, are these: *That the Scriptures are the Word of God*; *That there are Three distinct Persons in the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these Three are one God*; *That Christ is both God and Man in the same Person*; *That the Lords-Day, or First Day of every Week ought to be kept Holy*; *That a Solemn Yearly Commemoration of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascention of our Lord, and of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, ought to be Observed*; *and that the Church Universal is to be Governed by Bishops above, and distinct from Presbyters.* There never was any Church from the Apostles, and downwards for above Fourteen hundred Years, which did not consent to the Truth of These, and some other Doctrines, and look upon them as the common Notions of the Christian Religion, delivered down from its first Original, with the Articles of Christian Faith. And therefore, as no *Arrian*, *Photinian*, *Sabbatarian*, or *Aerian*, how Opposite soever they were to the *Jews* and Heathens, the common Enemies of Christianity, were admitted for truly Catholick or Orthodox Christians, in the Primitive times; but were Condemned, and Anathematized for Hereticks; so now, no Society of *Antiscripturists*, *Antitrinitarians*, *Socinians*, *Antidomi-nicans*, (for I will not call them *Antisabbatarians*) *Antipædobaptists*, *Antiepiscopa-rians* of what Denomination soever; and likewise no Society of men professing the Observation of the *Apostolical Holy-days* to be Superstitious and Idolatrous, how opposite soever they pretend to be to the common Enemie of the Reformed Churches, ought not to be considered as Orthodox Protestants, who by that name are understood to *Protest* against the Errors, Innovations, Corruptions, and Usurpations of the *Romish*, but not against the Common Doctrines of the *Primitive Catholick* Church.

No Orthodox Protestants will deny the Doctrine of Passive Obedience.

† *That Infants are to be Baptized.*

The true notion of Protestancy.

to the [x] *Conviction*, but even to the Conversion of many Thousands; yea, I *do* [y] *assert*, that if the Lord hath any purer Church and People in this Land, it has been in and among these Meetings in Fields and

x. The Delusion of many Thousands, as their numerous Field-Meetings do shew.

y. I observed before, That the Covenant-Preachers are apt to speak mighty things of their Party. So *Naphtali*, speaking of the Covenanted-Army, which rebelled at *Pentland-Hills* 1666. saith, *That there hath not been in* Britain *such another Company of men joyned in Arms for the Covenant, and Cause of God, for sound Judgment, true Piety, Integrity of Heart, Fervent Zeal, undaunted Courage, &c.* Whereas they were for the most part Crack-Brained men, of broken Fortunes, and such as had been processed for Fornications, and Adulteries; as all those who went to Christs Standard, out of the Parishes of *Kilmarnock* and *Phimus*, were known to be, being in all Twenty Persons. And if any man will take the pains to enquire into their Morals, they will find this Sect to be one of the wickedest People, not only for Treason, Schism, and Rebellion, but for Sensual Sins, and Abominations, that ever professed the name of Christ. They use all manner of Care and Secrecy to Conceal their Wickedness; but yet, so many undeniable Stories of their Privy Pranks are come to Light, as make them the Scandal of the Christian name. *Lysmach. Nicanor* First Edition *page* 79. Tells us of one *Andrew Lesly*, who forsook *Ireland* to come and take the Covenant, after which he immediately left his own Wife,

to live with a Whore, the Daughter of an holy Sister at *Edinburgh*; who Blasphemously said, That *her Child was fallen into an holy Fornication with a Brother, not out of Lust, but Love, and therefore resolved, That she should not Confess it, lest the Gospel should be Scandalized; and that it was better to fall into the hands of God by False-Swearing, than to fall into the hands of men by Confessing the Fact*; which appeared after she had Sworn, by her great Belly and Lying in. *Chancellor Louden*, the great Pillar and Promoter of the Covenant, was known to all the Nation for a notorious Whoremonger and Adulterer, both at home and abroad, especially with Major *Johnstons* Wife, who bare him several Children; and yet he was called a Saint among them. The Story of their Principal Saint, Major *Thomas Weir*, so Infamous for Fornication, Adultery, Incest, and Bestiality, for which he was Condemned, was lately Published in *Ravillac Redivivus*, to which I refer the Reader. Mr. *James Symson* Minister at *Airthe*, a little before his Majesties Restauration, took a Womans Oath before the Congregation, who had brought forth a Bastard, in these words: *That she never knew a man, more than she knew him*; which made the People suspect it to be his own, for almost every day she brought cases of Conscience to him in his Chamber, which made his Wife Jealous after she heard the words of the Oath. One *James Foyer* a Beggar, who passed for so great a Saint among them, that he was Registred for a known Seeker of God in the Presbytery Book of *Glascow*, was afterwards found guilty of above an hundred Adulteries, Incests, innumerable Formications, and Witch-Craft; for which he should have been Hanged, had not the *Glascow*-Fanaticks made a Contribution, and bribed the *English*-Judges to save his Life, so that he was only Scourged through the Town. Afterwards he Dyed miserably by a Ditch; when he Tempted Women to Uncleanness, he said he would give them an holy Kiss, and if he knew them not to be in the State of Grace, he would not meddle with them. Since his Majesties Restauration, *Seven or Eight great Fanaticks* have been Burnt for *Bestiality*, who always went to Conventicles, and refused to hear the Church-Ministers Preach; and in the Parish of *Govean*, in Two Years time, Eight Persons were found guilty of *Incest*, all Fanaticks, who acted their Abominations as they went to, and came from Conventicles, as they confessed before the Presbytery of *Glascow*. Mr. *Hugh Archibald* Minister at *Evendale* a Zealous Fanatick, was guilty of many Adulteries. And Mr. *James Porter*, a Famous Conventicler, Son of Mr. *James Porter* Synod-Clerk of *Glascow*, got a Child in Adultery, with *Margaret Gilchrison* in *Gorbels*, and thought to have Murdered it at his Birth, but that he was hindred by some Women living in the lower Story, who heard it cry. It was Baptized by Mr. *Alex. Jamison*, and Mr. *Porter* himself fled into *Ireland*. Mr. *William Houston* at *Elskine*, one of their Ministers, kept a Servant Maiden, with whom he lay nightly till she brought forth a Child, and then they both fled to *Ireland*. Mr. *Sam. Rutherford* their great Apostle, Mr. *John Karstaires*, Mr. *Matthew Rumsey*, and Mr. *John King*, *the Author of this Speech*, got their Wives with Child before Marriage; and for this last, many doubt if he and his pretended Wife were ever Married at all. Mr. *Peter Paterson*, a certain Fanatical Lords Chaplain and Chamberlain, begot many Children in Adultery; and though it was their Custom to do all they could to Conceal the Infirmities and Failings of their Ministers and eminent Professors, to avoid Scandal, yet great is the number of such who were processed for Adultery, as their own Presbytery-Registers yet do shew.

One *John Bridgeford* in *Michel Govean*, a great Conventicler, and Married man in the Year 1664. used to wait upon his Neighbours Wife to Conventicles, and Lye with her in the Return; and Tempted her to it by the Example of *David*, and told her it was the way to humble her, and make her a good Christian, as both he and she judicially confessed before the Presbytery. Afterwards he went to *Edinburgh*, where he begot another Child in Adultery, and Murdered it and his own Wife, for which he was Hanged there. *Charles Pettierue* a Married man in *Glascow*, lay with a Woman in *James Galts* House in the Day, and was catched in the Act; yet he was one of those Covenanting Zealots, who held it unlawful to come to Church. The Wife of *James Wallace* of *Badrean* a great Conventicler, was taken by her Husband in the Act of Adultery with his Man Servant. He brought them both tied together in their Shifts to *Paisly-Cross*; She had the Bible in her hand when she committed Adultery, and Tempted her man, who first refused her, to the Sin, by Blasphemously telling of him, *There was no Condemnation to them who were in Christ*. *Balfour* a Butcher in *Kippin* Parish, pretended, with his Wife, to be Converted by Mr. *John Law*, a Conventicle-Preacher. Soon af-

ter

their Converſion, ſhe ran away with his man, and took all his means with her; but followed, and overtook them at *Dumfreis*, recovered ſome of his Money and Goods, and Sold them both to *Virginia*. I could inſtance in more, whom I forbear to mention out of reſpect to their Families, and Relations. And ſince his Majeſties Reſtauration there have been above an hundred Adulteries, and many more Fornications committed by Conventiclers, within the ſingle Presbytery of *Glaſcow*, whoſe names ſhall be produced out of the Regiſters, if they be denied. *Ravillac Redivivus* page 43. ſaith, That there are more Fornications and Adulteries committed in the *Weſt*, where theſe Fanaticks do much abound, than in all the Nations beſides; and particularly, That Seventeen of them of one Pariſh, within the Presbytery of *Paſely*, did publick Penance at one time. Mr. *Hamilton* who hath long been Captain of Mr. *Welſhes* Guards, and whom they made Lieutenant-General to Jeſus Chriſt in the laſt Inſurrection, (for they Blaſphemouſly ſaid, That Chriſt was their General) is notoriouſly known for a Debauchee, who ſpent the Eſtate which his Father left him, on Whores. About a Year ſince, one Mr. *Williamſon* a Conventicle Preacher, being ſearched for betimes one Morning at the Lady *Carrs* Houſe of *Cherritry*, came upon the firſt Allarm to her Bedſide, and told her he could be no where ſafe, but in her Ladiſhips own Bed; whereupon ſhe very charitably let him come to Bed to Her and her Daughter; but the noiſe increaſing, ſhe went out to treat the Soldiers, and by that means to divert them from a ſtrict Search. After the Soldiers were gone, ſhe bethought her ſelf of whom ſhe had left in Bed with her Daughter, and preſently ran into her Chamber, where finding the good man ſtill in Bed with her Daughter, ſhe called him names, and then fell furiouſly upon the young Lady; but ſhe fell a crying, and told her it was then too late to Chide, which having found to be true, they were married together before he went from her Houſe. The Tragical Story of the Lord *Forreſter* is now the Talk of the whole Kingdom. He was the firſt man who took the advantage of his Majeſties late Proclamation of Indulgence, to ſet up an *Houſe-Conventicle* without the Precincts of *Edinburgh*, Two Miles out of the Town. Thither his Lordſhip went with his *Concubine*, who was his late Wives Niece, the firſt *Sunday*, and ordered Solemn Thanks to be given for the great Bleſſing of Indulgence; but ſoon after, ſome day of that or the very next Week ſhe killed him, when he was Drunk, with his own Sword, with which he had often threatned to kill her Aunt, his late Lady, who was a great lover of the *Engliſh* Church. She was ſince Arraigned and Condemn for the horrid Murder, and told the Court ſhe was Married to his Lordſhip, who for that purpoſe (ſhe ſaid) promiſed her to get a Diſpenſation from the Pope. *Ravil. Rediv.* alſo ſaith, That almoſt all, who are Executed for Witchcraft, come from this holy People, as they call themſelves. Moſt certain it is, That the Five Witches, which bewitched Sir *George Maxwell* of *Nether-Pollock* to Death, and the Four which bewitched *Robert Hamilton* of *Barnes*, were all Presbyterians, who dyed owning that Party, and diſowning, and bearing Teſtimony againſt the *Biſhops* and *Curates*, and againſt the *Belief*, the *Lords Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*, calling them *Popiſh Trash* at the Stake, when they were ready to be Burnt. They were diſcovered by one *Jonnet Duglaſs*, who pretends to have the *Second Sight*; but is believed to have a Familiar Spirit. And it is Obſervable, That both Sir *George*, and the *Laird of Barnes*, both Zealous Covenanters, conſulted with her for the recovery of their health. In the beginning of *November* laſt, a Diſcovery was made of a great number of Witches in *Burrowſtoneſs*, a Port on the *Forth*, where the Fanaticks think themſelves moſt Safe, and where they uſually land the Arms which they buy in Foreign Countreys for the Service of the Cauſe. Five of them, all Conventiclers, have freely confeſſed; and the chief of them one——*Vicar* was a moſt Zealous, and Celebrate Profeſſor, and the greateſt Convener of the People to Conventicles, that was in all the Countrey.

I could ſay a great deal more of their other ungodly Practices, but I proteſt I am weary with Raking in this Dunghill, and had not ſaid thus much, but for the ſame reaſon as ſome of the Primitive Fathers ſet forth the Practices of the filthy *Gnoſticks*, to let the World ſee what a wicked Sect they are. And therefore I dare aſſert with as much confidence, and more reaſon than this Rebel and his Brother *Kid* aſſerted the contrary, That if ever there were a Sect of Chriſtians, *That were not the People of God, and in whom his Soul took no Pleaſure*, then theſe Rebellious Covenanters are ſuch.

z *Houſes*, ſo much now deſpiſed by ſome, and Perſecuted by others. That I Preached up Rebellion, and Riſing in Arms againſt Authority, I bleſs the Lord my Conſcience doth not condemn me in this, it being never my Deſign, if I could have Preached Chriſt, and Salvation through his name; That was my Work, and herein have I walked, according to the Light and Rule of the Word of God, and as it did become (though one of the meaneſt)

z. I am glad of this occaſion to tell the Reader, That they uſed to meet Armed in the *Houſes*, as well as in the *Fields*; Nay, it hath been a common Stratagem among them, to fill Houſes with Armed men, and then to give it out, That there were Conventicles kept in them, That ſo they might have an opportunity to Murder the Officers, Civil or Military, that were ſent to ſeize them. Thus Mr. *George Balfour* (ſince one of the Murderers of the *Archbiſhop of St. Andrews*) having got together a company of Armed Ruffians in an Houſe near St. *Andrews*, ſerved Captain *Karſtairs*, and Mr. *Garret*, the latter of which after many Shots and Stabs, they left for dead upon the ground. Thus likewiſe about *January* laſt, they ſerved the *Town-Major* of *Edinburgh*, as the Papiſts ſerved Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* in *London*; For, having filled an Houſe in *Edinburgh* with Armed men, they ſent a Meſſenger to the Major, to Advertiſe him of a Conventicle there; who according to his Duty, having taken about Three or Four Aſſiſtants with him, went to the Houſe to ſeize them according to Law. As ſoon as he knocked at the Door, he was let in, and was conducted to a Room, where he ſaw no body, till he was ſurprized with Armed men, who ruſhed in upon them at two Doors and Shot at them, and then fell upon them with Swords and Durkes, one of the Aſſiſtants was Shot dead through the Back, they Slaſhed and Stabbed the Major in ſeveral places, and dragged him out of doors, where they left him for dead.

a 1 *Miniſter* of the Goſpel; I have been looked on by *ſome*, *and miſ-*

1. Not a Miniſter, but an Uſurper of the Miniſtery: Firſt, As Ordained by *Preſbyters*, whom all † Antiquity never believed to have more power to Ordain a Presbyter, than for Deacons to Ordain a Deacon, or Presbyter, or for a College of Laymen to Ordain both. This is a certain truth, and if any ingenuous man deſire to be ſatisfied in this point, which implies the neceſſity of Epiſcopal Orders; let him read a Book Intituled, *A brief Account of ancient Church-Government, &c.* It is a full Anſwer to *Blundell*, and all the *Presbyterian* Writers, and was Printed in 4° for *John Crook*, at the *Ship* in St. *Pauls Church-Yard* 1662. Secondly, as being Ordained by Schiſmatical Presbyters; whoſe Ordinations, had they had the ſame power to Ordain as Biſhops have, would by the Sacred Canons have been † invalid upon the account of Schiſm and Sedition; and the Preſbyters Ordained by them in ſuch a Factious and Undutiful manner, would have been depoſed by the Laws of the *Catholick Church*. And if the Rebellious Presbyters, the Fathers and Grandfathers of theſe now living, who undertook to Ordain, were not guilty of Schiſm in the higheſt manner, then the notion of Schiſm is a *Chimæra*, and there was never ſuch a thing in the Catholick Church. For they Aſſembled together without their Biſhops, cited them to compear before them, and declared their Office to be *Antichriſtian*, and their Juriſdiction an Uſurpation over the Church. Laſtly, They abjured them, and brought the People to do the ſame in the Solemn League and Covenant, and Invaded their Office and Juriſdiction; and their Succeſſors, theſe Miniſters, *falſly ſo called*, ſtill perſevere to do the ſame. Thou art not then a Miniſter, *Thou blind Guide!* but (as a great Miniſter of State, and the Bulwark of the two Churches told his Majeſty, when he was petitioned for thy life) an *Uſurper of the Miniſtery*, a *Rebel*, a *Traitor*, a *Deceiver of the People*, who muſt anſwer for the blood of a Thouſand poor Wretches, who periſhed in the Rebellion at *Bothwel-Bridge*.

† See *Can.* 19. *Concil. Sard.* & *Can.* 4. *Conc. Conſtantinopol.* 1.

† ἄκυροι χειροθεσία.

repreſented

represented by [2] *others*, that I have been of a Divisive and Factious humor, and one that stirred up Division in the Church; but I am hopeful that ye will all give me now your Charity, being within a little space to stand before my Judge; (and I pray the Lord, That he may forgive them that did so misrepresent me) but I thank the Lord, whatever men have said of me concerning this, that on the contrary, I have been often dissuading from such Ways and Practices, and of this my Conscience bears me Witness; but here I would not have you mistake me, as if I did approve of Ways and Practices contrary to the Word of God, and that of our Covenanted and Reformed Religion; and as I ever abhorred Division and Faction in the Church, as that which tends to its utter ruine, (if the Lord prevent it not) so I would in the Bowels of my Lord and Master, if such a feckless one as I may presume to exhort and perswade both Ministers and Professors, *if there be any Fellowship of the Spirit, any Consolation in Christ, if any comfort in Love, if any Bowels of Mercy; that ye be like-minded, having the same Love, being of one accord, of one mind, in lowliness of mind let each esteem others better than himself*, Phil. 2. 1. 3. Harmoniousness and Oneness in the things of God, can never enough be sought after, and Harmony and Unitedness in things that tend to the [3] *Prejudice of Christs Interest*, can never enough be avoided, and fled from. And as I am willing to lay down my Tabernacle, so also I Dye in the [4] Faith of *the Holy Scriptures*, and in the [5] Faith *of the Apostles*, and [6] *Primitive Christians*, and [7] *Protestant Reformed Churches*, and particularly of the [8] Church of *Scotland*, whereof I am a poor Member, that has been so wonderfully Carried on against so much Oppo-

2. Called the *Indulged* Ministers. See Note (u) on the first Speech, and Section the fifth of the *Apology*.

3. He means the Presbyterian Government, which, according to them, is Christs Interest, Dignity, Crown, Kingdom, Scepter, Government, and Royal Prerogative, by which he Reigns as King in *Sion*.

4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Not in the Faith of the holy Scriptures*; which command every Soul to be Subject to the higher Powers, and which neither teach directly, nor indirectly, That the Episcopal Government is an Antichristian, or the Presbyterian by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, a Divine Institution; or that the Magistrate hath no privative Power over Ecclesiastical Persons, or in causes Ecclesiastical; or that Passive Obedience to an unjust Sentence, is as great a Sin, as Active Obedience to an unrighteous Command, &c.

Nor in the Faith, or Profession of the Apostles; who both Taught and Practised the contradictions to the fore-mentioned Doctrines, and whereof some (for † there were more Apostles than *Barnabas*, and *Paul*, and the ~~Twenty-two~~ especially so called) were Bishops, fixed to particular Dioceses; as St. [a] *John* at *Ephesus*, St. [b] *Mark* at *Alexandria*, [c] *Titus* in *Crete*, *James* called the [d] Lords Brother, Son of *Cleopas* at [e] *Jerusalem*, not to mention [f] *Timothy* the first Bishop of *Ephesus*, and the Angels of the Seven Churches in the *Revelations*, whom universal Tradition hath delivered for Bishops of the Seven *Asiatick* Churches.

Nor in the Faith of the Primitive Christians, who looked upon the Bishops, as the Successors of the Apostles, who derived upon them the same Ecclesiastical Authority, which they received from Christ. Every one that is but tolerably versed in the Writings of the Primitive Christians, must needs confess,

† See *Rom.* 16. 7. *Eph.* 4. 11. *Gal.* 1. 19. *Rev.* 2. 2. 2 *Cor.* 8. 23. *Phil.* 2. 25.

a. *Euseb. lib.* 3. c. 23.

b. *Hieron. de Script. Eccles. & in Tit.* c. 1.

c. *Euseb. lib.* 3. c. 4.

d. Compare *Matth.* 13. 55. 27. 56. *Marc.* 15. 47. with *John* 19. 25.

e. See the Authors quoted in *Spalat. l.* 2. c. 2. 16. *Hegesip. apud. Euseb.* l. 2. c. 23. *Hieron de Script. Eccles. Gal.* 2. 18, 19. *Acts* 12. 17. *Gal.* 2. 12. *Acts* 21. 18. *Acts* 15. All which places shew, That *James* was resident in *Jerusalem*, and had some singular Ecclesiastical Authority, and Presidency there.

f. *Euseb l.* 3. c. 4. *Hieron de Script. Eccles.*

feſs, that this was the belief of the Primitive Catholick Church; but to confute the ſhameful aſſertion of this ignorant *Pſeudo-Miniſter*: let us deſcend to particular Primitive Writers, and ſee what they ſay upon this Subject. *Ignatius* in his Epiſtles, inſiſts wholly upon the avoiding of Hereſie, and Schiſm; and the Avoiding of Schiſm is every where inculcated by him to conſiſt in this, That without the Biſhop nothing be done, and all with the advice of the Presbyters. Heretofore ſome Paraphraſtical Copies of this Fathers Epiſtles, have gone abroad in the World, in which could not be found the many places which the Fathers quoted out of them, at leaſt in the ſame words; but ſince the Edition of the *Mediceean Greek* Copy, by *Iſ. Voſſius*, and the two old *Latin* Copies by Biſhop *Uſher*, which differ from the former Copies, and agree with one another, and wherein are found all the places quoted out of them by the Fathers, and in the ſame Expreſſions wherein they are quoted; no tolerable reaſon hath been given, why they ſhould not paſs for pure and genuine, neither by *Blundell*, nor *Salmaſius*, (who probably had written their Books againſt Epiſcopacy, before they had ſeen theſe latter Copies) nor our own † men, who ſtill cry down theſe Epiſtles, without mentioning theſe latter Copies, or diſtinguiſhing between them and the former. This Father who was Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Anno Dom.* 69. and contemporary with St. *John* in his *Epiſt. ad Magneſ.* ſaith thus: *Vos decet non concuti ætate Epiſcopi, ſed Secundum virtutem dei patris omnem reverentiam ei tribuere.* Ad Smyrnenſ. *omnes Epiſcopum Sequimini, ut Jeſus Chriſtus patrem, & Presbyterium ut Apoſtolos, diaconos autem revereamini ut dei mandatum. Nullus ſine Epiſcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ convenit in Eccleſiam—illa firma gratiarum actio* [Euchariſtia] *reputetur, quæ ſub ipſo eſt, vel quam utique conceſſerit. Ubi utique apparet Epiſcopus illic multitudo ſit, quemadmodum utique ubi eſt Jeſus Chriſtus illic Catholica Eccleſia, non licitum eſt ſine Epiſcopo neque Baptizare neque Agapen facere, ſed quod utique ille probaverit, hoc eſt deo beneplacitum, ut ſtabile ſit, & firmum omne quod agitur. Honorans Epiſcopum à deo honoratus; qui occultum ab Epiſcopo aliquid operatur diabolo præſtat obſequium.* Ad Epheſ. *Concurrite ſententia dei, etenim, Jeſus Chriſtus incomparibile noſtrum vivere, patris ſententia ut & ipſi,* [Epiſcopi] *ſecundum terræ fines determinati Jeſu Chriſti ſententia ſunt, unde decet vos concurrere Epiſcopi Sententiâ.* Ad Magneſ. *In concordiâ dei ſtudete omnes operari, præſidente Epiſcopo in loco dei.*——Ad Tralleſ. *omnes revereantur diaconos ut mandatum Jeſu Chriſti, & Epiſcopum ut Jeſum Chriſtum exiſtentem filium patris, Presbyterion autem ut* [Synedrium] *concilium dei——valete in Jeſu Chriſto ſubjecti Epiſcopo, ut dei mandato, ſimiliter & Presbyterio.* Ad Magneſ. He commends *Sotion* the Deacon, *Quoniam ſubjectus eſt Epiſcopo, ut Gratiæ Dei, & Presbyterio ut legi Jeſu Chriſti.* See many more citations to this purpoſe out of this Father, in Dr. *Hammonds Diſſert.* 2. *Cap.* 25.

The Office of a Biſhop proved to be diſtinct from that of a Prieſt; and of Divine Inſtitution.

† *See their two Anſwers at the Iſle of* Wight, *and the Appendix to the* Jus Divinum Miniſt. Anglican. Prop. 3. *pag.* 108.

† 1 *Tim.* 15. 17.

Juſtin Martyr in his Apology to the Emperor *Antoninus*, written about 155. ſpeaking of the Cuſtomes of the Chriſtians, writes thus: *Poſtea* [†προεστὼς] *præpoſito panis, & aquæ & vini poculum offertur, quibus ille acceptis——præſidens vero poſtquam gratiarum actionem,* [† Euchariſtiam] *perfecit— deinde lectore quieſcente præſidens orationem qua populum inſtruit, habet, precibus peractis, panis offertur, & vinum & aqua, & præpoſitus itidem preces & gratiarum actiones fundit.*

1 Cor. 14. *the holy Communion is called* (Euchariſtia) *giving of Thanks,* παῖς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ.

Hegeſippus a Chriſtian Writer, who flouriſhed *Anno Dom.* 140. is cited by *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *c.* 22. giving an account of the Biſhops of his days, where he ſaith, *Se plurimos Epiſcopos Romæ Conveniſſe, & ab omnibus unam eandemque audiviſſe Doctrinam*; and particularly of the Church of *Corinth*, *Corinthiorum* (inquit) *Eccleſia in rectâ fide permanſit* [μέχρι Πέμμου] *uſque ad Primum Epiſcopum*, and Jeruſalem, *Poſtquam* (inquit) *Jacobus cognomine Juſtus Martyrium pertulit, frater patruelis domini Symeon Cleopæ filius Epiſcopus conſtituitur.*

About the ſame time, or a little before, *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* wrote ſeveral Epiſtles, *apud Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 23. *One* to the *Athenians*, in which he makes mention of *Quadratus* formerly their Biſhop, and of *Publius the Martyr*, Biſhop before him, and then of *Dionyſius the Areopagite*, St. *Pauls* Convert, as their firſt Biſhop. *Another* to the *Gnoſſians*, in which he exhorts *Pinytus* their Biſhop, *Ne grave onus caſtitatis fratrum cervicibus tanquam neceſſarium imponat.* Another, *Gortinenſi Eccleſiæ*, in which he commends their Biſhop for the renowned courage of his Church, τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἐκκλησίας; *Another* to the *Romans*, wherein he commends *Soter* their Biſhop for his Charity and Hoſpitality.

Irenæus, who flouriſhed *Anno Dom.* 180. writing againſt the *Valentinians*, Argues thus: *Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi in Eccleſiis, & Succeſſo-*

res

res eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim, & latenter à reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maximè traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant, valde enim perfectos, & irreprehensibiles eos esse volebant, quos & Successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum Magisterii tradentes. After this he gives a Catalogue of the Bishops, who had succeeded *Peter*, and *Paul*, in the Church of *Rome*; after again, he urgeth, That *Polycarp* made Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, knew no such Doctrine; *Polycarpus autem non solùm ab Apostolis edoctus, & conversatus cum multis ex iis qui dominum nostrum viderunt, sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asia, in eâ, quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutus Episcopus, quem & nos vidimus.*—— See also his Epist. to *Victor apud Euseb. l.* 5. *c.* 23. *Clemens Alexandrinus Contemporary*, which *Irenæus* in the Story of the Debauched Young Man, who was converted by St. *John*, *apud Euseb. lib.* 3. *c.* 23. saith, *Quum ex insula Patmo Ephesum rediisset Johannes, ad finitimas rogatus se contulit, partim ut Episcopos constitueret, partim ut integras Ecclesias componeret——vultu ad eum verso, qui super cunctos Episcopos erat constitutus, hunc* (inquit) *testibus Ecclesiâ, & Christo studiosè tibi commendo*—— Afterwards, *agedum* (inquit) *Episcope, redde nobis depositum, quod ego, & Christus tibi commendavimus, sub testimonio Ecclesiæ cui præsides.* And *Strom.* 6. mentions three Degrees of Clergy, *nam hic quoque in Ecclesiâ* (κεχωρισται) *progressiones Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum sunt imitationes gloriæ Angelicæ*; and *Strom.* 3. *Tam Episcopos* (inquit *Apostolus*) *oportet constitui, qui ex domo propriâ toti quoque Ecclesiæ præesse meditati*

Tertullian, whom I should have named before *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *de præscript.* c. 36. affirms, That the Apostles Chairs or Apostolick Thrones, remained still in his time, which was the latter end of the Second, and beginning of the third Age.—— *Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident—— proxima est Tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longè es à Macedoniâ, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam*—— and c. 32. *Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit habuerit auctorem, & antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesiâ Polycarpum à Johanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum itidem, perinde utique & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant.* And *de Baptismo* c. 17. *dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri, & diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi autoritate.*

After *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandr.* *Origen*, who flourished *Anno Dom.* 230. writes thus in 2 *Hom.* in *Num. Putasne qui sacerdotio funguntur, agere omnia quæ illo ordine digna sunt?*—— *unde est, quod sæpe audimus blasphemare homines, & dicere, Ecce qualis Episcopus, aut qualis Presbyter, vel qualis diaconus?* and *Hom.* 16. in *Matth. Episcopi, & Presbyteri, quibus creditæ*—— and 7 *Hom. in Hierom. Plus à me* (Presbytero) *exigitur, quàm à diacono, plus à diacono, quàm à Laico, qui vero totius Ecclesiæ arcem obtinet* (Episcopus) *pro omni Ecclesiâ reddet rationem.*

Cyprian, who flourished *Anno Dom.* 248. writes thus in his 27. *Epist. Lapsis. Dominus noster*—— *Episcopi honorem, & Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in Evangelio, loquitur, & dicit, Petre, ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, & super ipsam petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam, & tibi dabo claves,* &c.—*inde per temporum, & successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio, & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnes actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur, cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, miror*—— *Epist.* 68. he calls the Ordination of a Bishop, *sub populi assistentis conscientiâ traditionem divinam, & Apostolicam observationem*; and instanceth in *Act.* 1. 15. and *Epist.* 65. upon occasion of a Deacon reproaching *Rogatianus* his Bishop,— *Pro solitâ tuâ humanitate fecisti, ut malles de eo nobis conqueri, quum pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedræ autoritate haberes potestatem, quâ posses de illo statim vindicari.*—— *Meminisse autem diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est Episcopos & propositos dominus elegit, diaconos autem post ascensum domini in cælos Apostoli sibi constituerunt, Episcopatus sui & Ecclesiæ ministros*; And *Epist.* 42. to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Hoc enim vel maximè frater & laboramus & laborare debemus, ut unitatem à domino, & per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus obtinere curemus. Epist.* 69.—*Christi, qui dicit ad Apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui Apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt, qui audit vos, me audit.* *Athanasius,*

Athanaſius, who flouriſhed *Anno Dom.* 326. writing to *Dracontius* Elected to a Biſhoprick, and refuſing it, ſaith, *Quod ſi nullam omnino mercedem Epiſcopi functioni deſtinatam credis, ſervatoremque, qui eam ita inſtituit contemnis*———

Damaſus, who flouriſhed *Anno Dom.* 367. *Epiſt.* 4. *de chorepiſcopis. Nullus ex Septuaginta diſcipulis, quorum ſpeciem iſti gerunt, nil de hoc quod Apoſtolis eorumque ſucceſſoribus* (Epiſcopis) *ſpecialiter debebatur legitur aſſumpſiſſe.*

Epiphanius, who flouriſhed *Anno Dom.* 360. *Hæreſ.* 75. writes thus: —— *Docet divinus Apoſtoli ſermo, quis ſit Epiſcopus, & quis Presbyter, cum dicit ad Timotheum, qui erat Epiſcopus, Presbyterum ne objurges. Ambroſd. de dignit. ſacerdot.* writes thus: *Claves illas regni cælorum in beato Petro cuncti ſuſcepimus ſacerdotes*, (i. e. *Epiſcopi*) for in the following Chapters he aſſerts, That the Biſhops in St. *Peter* received the Keys from Chriſt, and the Presbyters from them.

Tom. 6. Auguſtin, *ad Quod vult deum de hæreſibus*, among other Heretical Opinions of *Aerius*, reckons this for one, *Quod docebat Presbyterum ab Epiſcopo nullâ differentiâ debere diſcerni.* De verbis dom. Serm. 24. Dicit ergo, qui vos Spernit me Spernit.) *Si ſolis Apoſtolis dixit*, qui vos ſpernit, me ſpernit, *Spernite nos, ſi autem ſermo ejus pervenit ad nos, & vocavit nos, & in eorum loco conſtituit nos, videte ne ſpernatis nos, & ne ad illum perveniat injuria, quam nobis feceritis.* Ad Creſcon. Grammat. l. 1. *Attende etiam quod quemadmodum ad Titum cum explicaret* (Paulus) *qualis eſſe Epiſcopus debeat*——— there he aſſerts *Titus* to have been a Biſhop, *Non ergo ſolos, qui ex circumciſione ſunt, ſed eos maximè tales eſſe ait, oportere tamen in doctrinâ ſanâ redargui refelliqui ab Epiſcopo vaniloquos, & mentis ſeductores indubitatâ præceptione firmavit.* There he ſaith, That St. *Paul* commanded all Biſhops in *Titus* to exhort, and convince Gainſayers; And in the next words he ſaith, He looked upon that Precept, as given to himſelf, *Unde hoc etiam mihi juſſum eſſe cognoſco, hoc pro viribus ago,*—— *Enarrat. in Pſalm.* 44. (in our Tranſlation the 45. 16. v.) Pro patribus tuis nati ſunt tibi filii. *Quid eſt pro patribus tuis nati ſunt tibi filii? patres miſſi ſunt Apoſtoli, pro Apoſtolis filii nati ſunt tibi, Conſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi. Hodie enim Epiſcopi, qui ſunt per totum mundum unde nati ſunt? ipſa Eccleſia patres illos appellat, ipſa illos genuit, & ipſa illos conſtituit in ſede patrum* [Apoſtolorum] *non ergo te putes deſertam quia non vides Petrum, quia non vides Paulum, quia non vides illos, per quos nata es; de prole tuo tibi crevit paternitas.*—— Contra literas Petil. *lib.* 2. *c.* 51. *Cathedra tibi quid ſecit Eccleſiæ Romanæ in quâ Petrus ſedet, & in quâ hodie Anaſtaſius ſedet, vel Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ in quâ Jacobus ſedit, & in quâ hodie Johannes ſedet*——— *quare appellos Cathedram Peſtilentiæ Cathedram Apoſtolicam?*

Chryſoſtome in his Homily on *Ignatius*, ſaith, he was Succeſſor to St. *Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, ordained by the Apoſtles, *ut tanto principatu dignus*; and in his Homilies on *Timoth.* and *Titus*, he expreſſes his opinion of Biſhops, as of an Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

† *Gal.* 1. 18, 19. *Acts* 12. 17. *Gal.* 2. 12. *Acts* 21. 18. *Acts* 15.

Perhaps it may ſeem ſuperfluous to ſhew further how effrontedly this *Antiepiſcopacies* ſpeaks, in ſaying, He died in the Faith of the Primitive Chriſtians; but becauſe the *Presbyterians* have the confidence to repreſent *Hierom*, as a Patron of their Cauſe, I will take a little more pains to ſhew how they have abuſed the World by this pretence; in demonſtrating, that this Father held the authority of Biſhops to be above, and diſtinct from that of Presbyters, and alſo a Divine Inſtitution. For in his *Catalog. Script. Eccleſiaſt.* 3. † *Jacobus frater Domini cognomento Juſtus*—— *poſt paſſionem Domini ſtatim ab Apoſtolis Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus ordinatus*— *Hegeſippus vicinus Apoſtolicorum temporum in quinto commentariorum libro de Jacobo narrans, ait, Suſcepit Eccleſiam Hieroſolymæ poſt Apoſtolos frater Domini Jacobus, cognomento Juſtus.* 11 *Timotheus autem* † *Epheſiorum Epiſcopus ordinatus à beato Paulo*—— 12 *Titus Epiſcopus Cretæ*——27 *Polycarpus Johannis Apoſtoli diſcipulus, & ab eo Smyrnæ Epiſcopus ordinatus, totius Aſiæ princeps fuit.* Com. in Galat. 1. 19. *Paulatim procedente tempore, & alii ab his, quos dominus elegerat ordinati ſunt Apoſtoli, ſicut ille ad Philippenſes ſermo declarat, dicens, neceſſarium exiſtimavi Epaphroditum.*—— Here he aſſerts, That the Apoſtles, who were choſen by Chriſt, Ordained other Apoſtles, as *Epaphroditus*, *Phil.* 2. 25. and *Mark. Catal. Script. Eccleſ.* 15. *Marcus diſcipulus & interpres Petri*—— *primus Alexandriæ Chriſtum annuncians conſtituit Eccleſiam*, And Preem. in *Matth. Marcus interpres Petri Apoſtoli, & Alexandrinæ Eccleſiæ primus Epiſcopus*—— Here by the way, it may be obſerved in anſwer to *NAKED TRUTH*, That St. *Hierom* ſaith, That ſuch, and ſuch perſons were Ordained Biſhops by the Apoſtles; and ſurely in ſaying ſo, he meaneth, that they had

† *Euſeb.* l. 3. c. 4.

Biſhops proved to be a diſtinct Order *from Presbyters.*

had a new Ordination distinct from that of Presbyters; for it's most reasonable to suppose, that the Father used the word in the signification it had in his own time, when, and long before there was a distinct Ordination of Bishops, by a new imposition of hands, by three Persons of the Episcopal Order. So in *Euseb. l.* 6. *c.* 43. *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome, Anno Dom.* 255. writes to *Fabius* touching the Ordination of *Novatianus*, *Hosce tres* (accitos Episcopos) *manuum impositione* [χειροθεσία] *Episcopatum ei dare coegit.* And the same Bishop to St. *Cyprian*, Epist. 46. *Tantummodo circumductos se quoque commisisse schismatico, ut paterentur ei manus quasi in Episcopum imponi.* And *Cyprian* Epist. 68. plainly distinguishes the Ordinations of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, each from other.—— *Nec hoc in Episcoporum tantum, & Sacerdotum, sed in diaconorum ordinationibus observâsse Apostolos animadvertimus*; and afterwards, *Ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui Præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit, quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostræ ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum, qui in præsentiâ convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in locum Basilidis imponerentur.* See also *Cyprian* Epist. 52. and *Eusebius* l. 5. c. 6. of the like Ordinations, and *Can.* 1. and 2 *Apost. Episcopi à duobus vel tribus Episcopis ordinentur. Presbyter ab uno ordinetur & diaconus, & reliqui clerici.* From all which it is plain, that Bishops before St. *Hierom's* time had a different Ordination from Presbyters; and if so, then the new Ordination must infer a new Authority, and the same Authority which this Father understood to have been conferred on *Timothy*, and *Titus* Bishops by the Apostles, the same he understands to have been conferred on *Polycarp*, and *Epaphroditus*, and the other Bishops; and hence it appears, that That notion of *Blondels*, which *Mr. Baxter* hugs so much in his *Nonconformists plea*, of the Senior Presbyter's being a Bishop without new Ordination, is a meer Phancy and Shift. But to go on with St. *Hierom*, in the conclusion of his Epist. to *Evagrius*, which the Presbyterians rely so much upon, *Ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri testamento, quod Aaron, & filii ejus, atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hæc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi in Ecclesiâ sibi vendicent. Epist ad* Nepotianum, *de subjectus Pontifici tuo, & quasi animæ parentem suscipe—— quod Aaron & filios ejus, hoc Episcopum, & Presbyteros esse noverimus*; and Epist 54. speaking of the Bishops of his own Age; he saith, *Apud nos Apostolorum locum tenent Episcopi.* And in *Psalm.* 45. 16. *Nunc, quia Apostoli à mundo recesserunt habes pro his Episcopos filios, sicut & hi patres tui, quia ab ipsis regeris.* And Epist. 1. *ad Heliodor.* speaking of the Modern Bishops, he saith, *Stant loco Pauli, tenent locum Petri*; and Epist. ad Riparium adversus Vigilantium, *Miror Sanctum Episcopum, in cujus parochiâ esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, & non Virgâ Apostolica confrigere vas inutile, & tradere in interitum carnis.* Here he plainly asserts the Bishops *Apostolical Rod*, or Authority in Excommunicating a Presbyter; and by that expression, *Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?* he asserts, That only Bishops had power of Ordination; and from this Expression compared with the † forecited passages, I appeal to any *Presbyterian* in the World, whether they think that this Father durst have undertaken to have Ordained a *Presbyter* himself, or durst have owned any Presbyter for such, made such only *by the Imposition of Presbyters hands.* Nay in this very Epistle *Ad Evagr.* he saith, That the Greatness, or Littleness, Richness, or Poverty of Dioceses, makes not one Bishop above another, but that they are all *Ejusdem Meriti, & sacerdotii, & Apostolorum Successores.* And in his Proem to St. *Matth.* speaking of St. *Johns* Gospel, he saith, That [illegible] wrote it against the *Cerinthians* and *Ebionites*, *Coactus ab omnibus pene tunc Asiæ [illegible]scopis, & multarum Ecclesiarum legationibus.* The truth is, this Father being offended at the arrogance of the Deacons of his time, and especially of those of *Rome*; wrote this Epistle to *Evagrius*, *Contra eos, qui diaconum Presbytero æquabant*; and had no ill design at all upon the Apostolical, or Episcopal Office, but only he screwed up the dignity of the *Priests Office* to as high a pitch as he could, which made him contradictory to himself, in asserting the original Identity of Bishops and Presbyters in that Epist. and his Commentaries upon *Titus* 1. 5. where he writes, *Idem est ergo Presbyter & Episcopus, & antequam diaboli instinctu Schismata in religione fierent, & dicerent in populis ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur; postquam verò unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris,*

† *Those who desire to see more, may consult Dr.* Hammond, *dissert.* 2. *Cap.* 29.

cæteris, ad quem omnis Eccleſiæ cura pertineret, & ſchiſmatum ſemina tollerentur.

Having now ſhewed, that the Primitive Chriſtians believed the Function of a Biſhop, to be diſtinct from that of a *Presbyter*, and Superior to it; and that the Biſhops were the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, and of Chriſts inſtitution, as they were; I hope it is plain, that this Antiepiſcopal Deceiver dyed not in the Faith of the Primitive Chriſtians, as he hath the impudence here to profeſs. From what I have here ſaid of the Epiſcopal Office and Authority, I may draw ſome Corollaries. Firſt, that the Primitive Catholick Church acted in Conformity to its own Profeſſion, in declaring *Aerius*, as an *Antiepiſcoparian*, an Heretick. Secondly, that Church-Government is not indifferent, but that the † *Epiſcopal* is immediately of Apoſtolical, and mediately of Chriſts inſtitution, and by conſequence (at leaſt) as unalterable *as the Baptiſm of Infants, and obſervation of the Lords-Day*; which the *Presbyterians* with good reaſon declare, that the Magiſtrate ought not to change, or take away. Thirdly, that it is Blaſphemy to ſay, that Epiſcopacy is an Antichriſtian uſurpation over the Church. Fourthly, that to aſſert with the *Covenanters*, that the *Presbyterian-Government* is of Divine inſtitution; is an Unſcriptural, Heretical, and abſurd Doctrine, contrary to the Word of God, and the practice and profeſſion of the Holy Catholick Church.

† *Epiſcopos eſſe in Eccleſiâ debere tanquam inſtitutionem Apoſtolicam, ac ordinationem proinde divinam contra Puritanos, contraque Bellarminum ſemper ſenſi, qui negat Epiſcopos à deo immediatè ſuam juriſdictionem accepiſſe. Sed nihil mirum à Puritanis eum ſtare, quum Jeſuitæ nihil, quàm Puritano-papiſtæ ſint.* This was the Judgment of King *James*, as is obſerved by *Becanus de Prim. regn. Angl. c. 7. Jacobi regis præfat. Monar.*

And as this *Jeſuited Presbyterian* died not in the Faith, or Profeſſion of the Primitive Chriſtians, *ſo he died not in the Faith of the Reformed Churches.* Firſt, not of the *Church of England*, which is Governed by Biſhops, like the Primitive Churches, and after the warrant of their example hath Inſtituted Ceremonies, and worſhips God by *Liturgical Forms.* Nor ſecondly, of the Reformed Church of *France*, which ſubmits to the regulation of the Edict of *Nantes*, which is a pure and Secular Edict, and which hath always worſhipped God by a *Common-Prayer-Book*, and obſerves Holy-days as *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſunday*; and which reverences Proteſtant Biſhops after the example of *Calvin*, and *Beza* their firſt Reformers; and owns Miniſters Ordained by them, and are never without ſome ſuch in their Church. And whoſe † Paſtors, eſpecially thoſe of *Charenton*, were offended at the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as an indelible Scandal to the *Proteſtant* Cauſe; as alſo the Profeſſors, Miniſters, and Conſiſtory of *Geneva*; and their neighbour Reformed Churches, as was certified to King *Charles* the Firſt by his Publick Miniſters abroad.

Nor laſtly died he in the Faith of the Reformed Church of *Scotland*, which never profeſſed Epiſcopacy to be an unlawful, or Antichriſtian Conſtitution, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the Larger, and Leſſer *Scoticane* Confeſſion in the *Harmony*; but I ſuppoſe he means the Covenanted Reformed Church, that Schiſmatical *Military* Church which was, and is the Reproach of the *Proteſtant*, or Reformed Name.

† The Kings larger Declaration pag. 75.

ſition by the *mighty* 9. *Power, Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God*, I bear my witneſs and Teſtimony to the Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government of the Kirk of *Scotland* by 10. *Kirk-Seſſions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General-Aſſemblies.* Alſo I bear my Witneſs, and Teſtimony to our Covenants, † *National*, and *Solemn-League* betwixt the three Kingdoms, which Sacred and Solemn Oath, I believe, *cannot be diſpenſed with, nor looſed by any perſon, or Party upon earth; but are fully binding theſe Nations, and will be ſo ever hereafter.* Alſo I bear my Teſtimony to our publick Confeſſions of Sin, and engagements to Duty; and that either as to what concerns the Reformation of our Families, or Perſons, or the

9. So he calls the incurable obſtination of the *Presbyterian* Party in Schiſm againſt the Epiſcopal Church, and Faction, and Rebellion againſt the State.

* Presbyteries Tryal pag. 50.

10. A great * *Apoſtle of the Covenant* ſaid in the Pulpit, that *the Angels, and Saints of heaven, if they could leave the ſight of God, would be glad to come down, and ſee the admirable order of the Presbyterian Church of* Scotland *by Kirk-Seſſions, Presbyteries, and Synods.* [illegible] Platform being no where to be found in the Scripture, made many that had cryed up the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline for a Divine Inſtitution, turn *Independents*, *Quakers*, and *Atheiſts*, and condemn it (as in truth it is) for a meer human invention. Which, if Mr. *Calvin* had not hit upon, and ſet up in that exigence in *Geneva*, had never been known to the *Weſtern*, no more than to the *Eaſtern* parts of Chriſtendom; at leaſt to great

Britain,

Britain, where it hath been taught in both Kingdoms, without any ground in the Scriptures, or Antiquity, for the ſole indiſpenſable government of the Church.

† The *National Covenant* is that which in the *Harmony* is called *Generalis Confeſſio*; it was firſt Subſcribed by *King James* of bleſſed Memory, and his Houſehold 1580. and by Perſons of all Ranks 1581. by an Ordinance of the Privy-Council, and Act of General-Aſſembly. It was Subſcribed again by all ſorts of Perſons 1590. by a new Ordinance of Council at the deſire of the General Aſſembly, with a general Bond for maintaining the true Religion and the Kings Perſon; and ſo far, Authority permitting, or commanding it, all was well. But then afterwards in † 1638. without the Kings Authority, or Commiſſion from his Council, they impoſed it again according to a new Interpretation of their own, although no Authority can interpret any Oath, Law, or Reſcript, but that which made it, or thoſe, whom they who made it have Conſtituted Interpreters, and Judges thereof. The new Interpretation was, That this Confeſſion was to be interpreted, and underſtood againſt all the pretended Innovations, as if every one of them had been expreſſed therein, *viz.* The Five *Articles of Perth*, *the Service Book*, *the Book of Canons*, *the High-Commiſſion*, and Epiſcopacy it ſelf, although theſe things were neither named, nor hinted at in that Confeſſion; whereof the firſt Framers only abjured in it thoſe *Romiſh* Corruptions, which in their time had infected the Church. Beſides all this, they altered the Bond, which was annexed to the former Confeſſion, by adding theſe words without authority, *A mutual defence of one another againſt all Perſons whatſoever*; by which, what they meant, the King by woful experience found. The Copy of this Confeſſion may be ſeen in the *forecited larger Declaration of the King*.

† *King* Charles *his larger Declarat.* pag. 57.

† *See the Declaration in* (w.) *on the firſt Speech, and the Kings larger Declarat.* pag. 68, 69, 70.

Reformation of the whole Church in general; As alſo to the Cauſes *of* [11] *Gods wrath:* (the rejecting of which is to be feared to be one of the greateſt cauſes of Gods wrath this day againſt the Land.) I do alſo bear Witneſs and Teſtimony to the Proteſtation given in againſt the Controverted Aſſemblies, in the publick Reſolvings for bringing in the [12] *Malignant Party* into places of Power and Truſt, contrary to our ſolemn Engagements and Obligations to God; Alſo I adhere to our [13] *Confeſſions of Faith*, *larger and ſhorter Catechiſms*. I witneſs my Teſtimony againſt *Popery*, which is ſo greatly increaſed, yea ſo much Countenanced, and profeſſed openly by many, and that without the leaſt puniſhment. I bear witneſs alſo againſt the *Antichriſtian Prelacy* now Eſtabliſhed by Law, contrary to our Vows to Almighty God; And againſt the *Reſcinding of our ſolemn Oaths and Engagements*, as a thing that calls for Divine Vengeance; And againſt all Oaths and *Bonds* contrary to our Covenant and Engagements, eſpecially *that Oath of* [14] *Su-*

11. A Seditious and Blaſphemous Book ſo called, which was burnt in *Scotland* by the hand of the common Hangman. See *Poormans Cup*, pag. 19.

12. So he calls the Loyal, and Epiſcopal Party.

13. See Note (13.) on the firſt Speech.

14. So the *Presbyterian* Jeſuit, calls the *Scottiſh* Oath of Allegiance: This is the Form of it, and let the Proteſtant World judge if it be an *Oath, That calls for the Vengeance of God.*

The *Scottiſh* Oath of Allegiance.

I *For Teſtification of my faithful Obedience to my moſt Gracious Sovereign* Charles, *King of* Great Britain, *&c. Affirm, Teſtify, and Declare by this my ſolemn Oath, that I acknowledge my ſaid Sovereign onely Supream Governor of this Kingdom, over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes; and that no Foreign Prince, Power, State, or Perſon Civil, or Eccleſiaſtick, hath any Juriſdiction, Power, or Superiority over the ſame; and therefore I do utterly renounce, and forſake all Foreign Power, Juriſdictions, and Authorities;*

thorities; and ſhall at my utmoſt power, Defend, Aſſiſt, and Maintain his Majeſties Juriſdiction foreſaid, againſt all † *deadly: and ſhall never decline his Majeſties Power and Juriſdiction, as I ſhall anſwer to God.*

† *Contra omnes mortales.*

premacy, the [15] *Declaration againſt our Covenant*, and that Bond called the [16] Bond of Peace, and that [17] *horrid Bond* ſo frequently impoſed againſt the Meetings of his People in *Fields* and *Houſes*, intended for the *down bearing of the Goſpel and Intereſt of our Lord and Maſter*, with all other Bonds publick or private, contrary to our Obligations and Covenants to God; alſo againſt all ſuch that Connive at, or Complie with, or Strengthen the hands of this Prelatical, Malignant, and Perſecuting Party; As alſo againſt all Errors, Schiſms, and Hereſies, contrary to our Engagements to God, eſpecially againſt that Ruining, and Soul-deluding Evil, or ra-

15. See Note (w) on the firſt Speech.

16. That is, *The Bond for keeping the Peace*, whereby the Taker obligeth himſelf only to live Peaceably, and not to riſe in Arms againſt the King. This Bond was tendered to the Rebels taken in the Battel at *Pentland-hills*, and refuſed by many of them, who were Hanged, and are ſince reckoned among the Martyrs of the Cauſe. It was likewiſe tendered to the late Rebels, who were taken after the Battel of *Bothwel-Bridge*, but about 300. of them refuſed it, and are ſince Tranſported; but five more eſpecially, who were accomplices with the Murderers of the late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and who would not confeſs that the Killing of him was a *Sin*, or *Murder*, when they were asked in both Terms by Authority, if it were ſo? were Sentenced to be Hanged in Chains at *Magus*, the place where that Execrable Murder was committed. Was it ever heard in any other Chriſtian Nation, That any men refuſed to dye by the hand of the Executioner, rather than engage not to riſe in Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign? The Chriſtians under the *Turks* would not dye Martyrs, if they Suffered upon that Principle. Lord Jeſu pity the madneſs, and deluſion of this People. *Amen, Amen.*

17. This is the Form of it, and let the World judge, whether it deſerveth the name of horrid, or no:

The Form of the BOND.

I ——— *underſcribing, do faithfully bind, and oblige me, That I, my Wife, Bairns, and Servants reſpectively, ſhall no ways be preſent at any Conventicles, and diſorderly Meetings in time coming, but ſhall live orderly in Obedience to the Law, under the Penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there-anent. As alſo I bind, and oblige me, That my whole Tenants, and Cotters reſpectively, their Wives, Bairns, and Servants ſhall likewiſe refrain, and abſtain from the ſaid Conventicles, and other illegal Meetings not authorized by Law; and that they ſhall live orderly in Obedience to the Law. And further, That I, nor they ſhall Recept, Supply, or Commune with forfeited Perſons, intercommuned Miniſters, or Vagrant Preachers; but ſhall do our utmoſt Endeavour to Apprehend their Perſons. And in caſe my ſaid Tenants, Cotters, and their foreſaids, ſhall Contravene, I ſhall take, or apprehend any Perſon or Perſons guilty thereof, and preſent them to the Judge Ordinar, that they may be Fined, or Impriſoned therefore, as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made thereanent. Otherwiſe I ſhall remove them and their Families from my ground; and if I ſhall fail herein, I ſhall be liable to ſuch Penalties, as the ſaid Delinquents have incurred by the Laws, conſenting to the Regiſtration hereof in the Books of his Majeſties Privy-Council, or Books of any other Judges Competent, that Letters and Executorials may be direct hereupon in Form as Effeirs, and Conſtitutes my Procurators.*

† *Rav. Rediv.* page 50.

This is the Tenor of that Bond, which the Fanaticks railed ſo much againſt; and leſt the force of it ſhould be Eluded, the Privy-Council † Enacted, That every Heritor,

ritor, who ſhould receive into his Lands, or Service, any Tenants, or Servants of any other Heritor, without a Certificate from him, or the Miniſter of the Pariſh where they lived, That they lived orderly, as to the matter of Conventicles, ſhould be ſubject to ſuch Fines, as the Privy Council ſhould think fit to inflict, to puniſh them for their Crime, and repair the damage that ſhould accrue to the Heritor or Maſter, whoſe Tenants, or Servants they did receive.

While the Feuds were kept up in *Scotland*, it was uſual for the King to bind the *Chief* for the Peaceable behaviour of the whole Tribe, or *Clan*; and becauſe the Heritors, or Landlords of that Countrey have ſuch a deſpotical power over their Tenants, it hath been the immemorial practice of the King, Privy-Council, and Parliament, upon occaſion to bind Landlords of all qualities for the peaceable demeanour of their Tenants; and to give them Power, and Warrant to take Bonds from them, or upon their refuſal to remove them from their poſſeſſions, if they were Rack-renters; but if they had Leaſes, to denounce them Rebels by Letters raiſed under the Signet of the Privy-Council. But becauſe in *England*, where Tenants are not ſo dependent on their Landlords, ſuch proceedings are not (nor indeed ought to be) practiſed; therefore an inconſiderable party of men, whom the Covenanters look upon as their Patrons, miſrepreſented this Bond in that Kingdom, for an Arbitrary, Tyrannical, and Illegal Proceeding, though ſome of the chief Complainers had themſelves conſented to the Enacting of the like, but more rigorous Orders in 1666. and in 1677. as may be ſeen in the *True Narrative of the Proceedings of the Privy-Council in* Scotland, *&c.* Printed at *Edinburgh*, and Reprinted by Authority at *London*, 1678.

The *Field-Preachers* damned this Bond with Bell, Book, and Candle; and particularly Mr. *John Welſh*, Preaching ſomewhere about *Lanerk*, and in *Carrick*, after he had ſeverely reproved the People, for not coming Armed to the Conventicle, with Swords, and Piſtols, to defend the Goſpel; He ſaid, *The Taking of this Bond, was a renouncing of their Baptiſm, and making a Covenant with the Devil more expreſs, and worſe than that of Witches.* And Mr. *John Dickſon* Preaching at a Conventicle *May* 26. 78. ſaid, *That thoſe who had taken it, had committed a greater Sin, than the Sin of the Holy Ghoſt, and were already in Hell.*

ther [18] *Devilry of Quakeriſm*, ſo much connived at, if not allowed and countenanced by many, whoſe Office it is to reſtrain it; as alſo againſt all the ſteps and courſes of backſliding and defection which have been and now are on foot in this Land, and againſt all the Branches and parts thereof, under whatſoever name or notion. Moreover, I bear my Teſtimony to all the Teſtimonies given both formerly and of late by our *Suffering*, and *Baniſhed Witneſſes*, and to all the Teſtimonies

18. Thoſe who have read the Books of *Keith*, and *Barclay*, the *Scottiſh Quakers*, know the reaſon why the *Presbyterians* of that Countrey are ſo angry at that Sect. For they, and their Brethren by the help of their Books, pelt the Covenanters on all occaſions, with ſuch unanſwerable vexatious Arguments, as theſe: That they ought not to object the *Surplice*, nor the impoſition of other Ceremonies againſt the Church of *England*, who obliged Penitents for Adultery, and other Crimes to appear in Sackcloth, which was both a *Symbolical*, and *Jewiſh* Ceremony.

That the People of God called *Quakers*, have as much reaſon to ſay, That they Preach (which is to ſpeak from God to men) *by the Spirit*; as the *Presbyterians* for aſſerting they can Pray (which is to ſpeak from man to God) *by the Spirit*. That they therefore had the notion of Immediate Inſpiration from them; or if by that Phraſe of theirs, *Praying by the Spirit*, they underſtood not Inſpiration of matter, and words in their Devotions, which they (the *Quakers*) profeſs to have, that then they ought to pray to God by preſcribed Forms in publick Worſhip, as the People of the Communion of the *Anglicane* Church do. It being the height of Impudence and Blaſphemy, for an Orator of a Congregation not Inſpired, to undertake to pray, when he is not certain, either what, or how he ſhall ſpeak. That therefore, there ought to be no Medium betwixt preſcribed, and inſpired Devotions in publick Worſhip; and that either the *Church of England*, or the People called *Quakers* are in the right, and Extemporarians, *not Inſpired*, certainly in the Wrong.

That the *Presbyterian* Preachers are great Deceivers and Hypocrites, in pretending to their own People to Pray *by the Spirit*, and denying to others in close Argumentation, that they Pray by *Inspiration*; and that it appears from their own Writings, that their way of long praying was meer Art, Artificial Method, or Logical Contrivance, which any witty Boy shall learn and perform, as well as a Man.

That they of all other Christians cannot be the People of God, who set up, and maintain their Religion by shedding of Christian Blood; of which they have shed more in a few years within this little Isle, than was shed in the first Ten famous Persecutions within the vast circumference of the *Roman* Empire; and that the want of the Spirit of Meekness, and Passive Obedience, (which is so eminently seen among them, [*the Quakers*] as among the Primitive Christians) plainly declares, they are not Christ's.

That they have no reason to condemn the *Church of England* for *humane Inventions*, for that their Prayers before, and after Sermon, and before and after Baptism and the Lords Supper, are *humane Inventions*; That their Solemn League and Covenant is an *humane* (*or rather a Diabolical*) *Invention*; Nay, That their Church-Discipline *by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries*, and *Synods*, is not only an *humane*, but a new *Invention*, which hath no ground neither in the Scriptures, nor Ancient Christian Writers; whereas Church-Government by Bishops (which they condemn) was a very ancient, universal Constitution, and hath far more to say for it self, than theirs.

That the Bishops, and their Clergy and People, are far more Civil, Kind, Meek, Affable, and Charitable, than the Ministers and People called *Presbyterians*, who have always been of a Violent, Furious, Proud, and Persecuting Spirit, apt to exclude all from Salvation, but themselves. That they ought not to complain of legal Rigour, and Persecution, who Persecuted the People which call themselves the Church, without, and against Law, by all manner of ways, and with the greatest rigour that may could be Persecuted; and therefore whatsoever they can suffer from them now, is but what themselves most unjustly inflicted before. These and such like, are the ways of Arguing, whereby the *Quakers* vex and expose the *Presbyterians*, who therefore, call them (for they have an excellent talent that way) *Devilish, Satanical, Damned*, and all other names that belong to Hell.

of our [19] *first Sufferers, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and others*, that have Suffered in this City and Kingdom, who cheerfully laid down their lives with *admirable* [20] *Divine assistance*; and to all those that have laid down their lives, either formerly or of late in the Fields; As also to those, who have sealed their Testimonies, either with Forfeitures, [21] Imprisonment, or Banishment on this Account, Score, and Quarrel; And particularly I bear my Testimony against that horrid Violation, done to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that by usurping upon his Royal Prerogatives, and in spoiling him of his *Crown, Scepter, Sword*, and *Royal Robe*, by taking those Princely Ornaments to invest a man with, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, through that woful [22] *Supremacy* so much applauded to, and universally owned, e-

19. See Note (3.) on the first Speech.

20. See Note (b) on this Speech, and (d.) and (f.) on the first Speech.

21. Particularly their Ministers in the *Rost*.

22. See Note (7.) on the first Speech.

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ven of such of whom better things might have been expected; I mean the [23] *Indulged*, and such as Countenanced them in that way, even to the Ruining and Renting of the Church; which alass is too evident by sad and doleful experience; As also I bear my Testimony against the [24] *Test* imposed by the late Convention of Estates, whereby the Enemies of Christ and his Church are supplied with all necessaries for the utter Extirpating of the Interest of Christ and his Church. There is one thing more I would say, The Lord seems to be very wroth with this Land. The causes are many; First, The dreadful Slight the Lord Jesus has received in the [25] *Offers of the Gospel*; Secondly, The horrid Prophanity that has overpassed the whole Land, that not only [26] *Religion in its Exercise*, but even † *common Civility is gone*; Thirdly, There is the horrid perjury in the matters of

23. The *Hill-Preachers* call the *Indulged* Ministers (of whom more in Note (*n*.) on the first Speech) *Council-Curates*, and they represent them to the People as Traitors to Jesus Christ, because they Preach under Restrictions by Licence from the Privy-Council; and the Followers of the Field-Ministers hate them as bad as the *Bishops-Curates*, (so they call the Church-Ministers) especially those among them who conscientiously keep the conditions upon which they are permitted to Preach.

24. See Note (18.) on the first Speech.

25. From the Field-Preachers.

26. Meetings in Fields, and Houses.

† The *Scots* are naturally a very Civil People; and where the *Covenanting Principles* have not spoyl'd their Temper, as much Civility and good nature may be expected from them, as from any other Nation in the World. But among the *Presbyterian* Party, there is nothing but pure Barbarity to be found towards those, who are known to favour the Church; especially towards the Bishops, and their Clergy, whom they meet upon all occasions with all imaginable rudeness; insomuch that I wonder, that this Gentleman should complain of the want of common Civility, which he could do upon no other account, but that from the time of his Apprehension, to the hour of his Execution, he was treated, as Traitors and Rebels usually are under all the Governments of the World. Certainly, he had forgot his own Party, when he made this Complaint; and therefore, though he be gone, I shall refresh the memory of his Brethren, that they upon the same occasion may not make the same groundless Complaint.

Let them then remember their inhuman usage of *Aberdeen*, their insolent and unnatural carriage to his *present Majesty*, when he stood in need of their Assistance; the barbarous manner in which they Murdered the late *Archbishop of St. Andrews*; the barbarous indignities which they offered to the dead Body of an Officer called *Graham*, (whom they killed at that Conventicle which began the late Rebellion) upon the account of his *Name*: The insolencies which they committed in regular Ministers, and Loyal Gentlemens Houses, as they Marched along the Countrey to *Glasgow*; particularly, in Stabbing, Cutting, and Gashing his Majesties Picture, wheresoever they found it; as by name in the House of the Laird of *Boggs*: Their barbarous behaviour in the Archbishops House at *Glasgow*, where they burnt his Books, cut in pieces his best Hangings, and Furniture, and almost killed a Gentlewoman with Blows, who was left to keep the House, only for saying these words, *Gentlemen, I hope you'l remember that you are in the Archbishops House*: Their barbarous, and sacrilegious behaviour in the Cathedral of *Glasgow*; where finding a Tomb-stone over the two Children of the Bishop of *Argyle*, with an Inscription of a Modern date, *they digged up their Bodies, run them through with their Swords, and left them lying above the ground*.

The barbarous Lies, and continual defamations with which they Persecute the Duke of *Lauderdale*, because he stands as a Bulwark betwixt them and the Church. Their most barbarous usage of the Church-Ministers, as is evident from the two forecited Acts of Parliament, for the security of their Persons and Houses: not to speak of lesser indignities, as of laughing, scoffing, and flouting at them when they pass the Streets, and

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refuſing to Salute them, when they meet them in other company; and ſaying of Grace to themſelves at Tables, where they are called to ſay Grace for the whole Company, as if they had taken Gods name in vain, or not concluded the Bleſſing in the name of Chriſt.

Nay, The *Presbyterian* Women of all ſorts, not excepting thoſe whoſe Quality and Education ſhould have taught them more Civility, would not many years ſince, riſe up, or bow, or make a Curteſy or drink to a Biſhop, till their Intereſt obliged them to comply, with a *great, and better Principled Lady*, whoſe example hath much reformed them in this Point.

our Vows and Engagements; It's to be [27] *feared, the Lord will bring a Sword on theſe Lands which ſhall avenge the Quarrel of his Covenant*; Fourthly, There is a dreadful Formality and Supineneſs in the duties of Religion, which is introductive to that Wo which came upon the careleſs Daughters. Fifthly, Horrid ingratitude. What do we render to him for his Goodneſs? is not the moſt of all that we do, wickedneſs, and to ſtrengthen our hands to do evil? Sixthly, *The want of humility under all our Troubles*; We are brought low, yet we are not low in the ſight of God. And a Seventh thing is, dreadful Covetouſneſs, and minding of our own things more than the things of God, and that amongſt all Ranks. Would to God that there were not too many amongſt us, who are Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt, and mind Earthly things; and yet I dare not ſay, but that there are many faithful and precious to him in *Scotland*, both of Miniſters and Profeſſors, whom I hope God will keep ſtedfaſt, and who will ſtudy to be ſound and faithful to their Lord and Maſter, and whom I hope he will make as [28] *Braſen Walls, and as Iron Pillars, and as ſtrong Defenced Cities*, in the following of their Dutie in theſe ſad and evil Times: but it were to be Wiſhed that there were not too many, who ſtrengthen the hands of Evil Doers, and make themſelves Tranſgreſſors

† *More Nevoc.* p. 2. c. 38.

27. Indeed it is to be feared that the Covenanters will once more bring a Sword upon theſe Lands to avenge the Quarrel of the Covenant; and we all know, that the Sword of the *Presbyterians*, as well as that of the *Jeſuits*, is the *Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*, which was the *Word*, when they roſe up in Rebellion to pull the *Popiſh Octavians* from King *James* in *Edinburgh*, when he was reſcued by the Hammermen, *Presbytery Diſplayed*, pag. 49.

28. When God immediately called any man to any Charge, or Buſineſs, that would find Oppoſition from Wicked Men, or Devils; he was wont to inſpire him with ſupernatural Courage, and Confidence, which by the *Jewiſh* Writers, is called the *Spirit of Might*; and as † *Maimonides* obſerves, it was always conferred upon the Perſon ſent, and Employed by God after the Promiſe of *Hecha ani*, or *Ehjeh gimmach, Go, and I will be with thee.* This Promiſe was ſolemnly made to *Moſes*, *Exod.* 3. 12. to the *People of Iſrael*, who were called to Fight againſt Nations greater and ſtronger, than themſelves, *Deut.* 31. 6, 8 to *Joſhua* and the People together, *Joſh.* 1. 5. to the Prophet, *Ezek.* 3. 8, 9. where God aſſured him, That he would make *his Face ſtrong againſt their Faces, and his Forehead ſtrong againſt their Foreheads, and harder than a Flint or Adamant, ſo that he ſhould not fear them, nor be diſmayed at their Looks, though they were a Rebellious Houſe.* Laſtly, To the Prophet *Jeremiah*, who told God, That *he was no more able to deliver Prophetical Meſſages, than a Child*; upon which, God aſſured him, That he *would put his words in his mouth, and be with him; and bid him not be afraid of their faces, for he would make him a Defenced City, an Iron Pillar, and Brazen Walls againſt the whole Land, both againſt King and Prieſts, and Princes and People*, c. 1. 8, 9, 17, 18. and c. 15. 19, 20. which are the very words, which this Deceiver Blaſphemouſly here applies to the *Covenanted Party*, as if the Spirit of Impudence, Rebellion, and Reſiſting the Magiſtrate, which reſts upon them, were that Spirit of Supernatural Courage and Confidence

ſidence, which God was wont to give to thoſe whom he ſent and employed about Buſineſs of his own. So in the New Teſtament, when Chriſt ſent out the Apoſtles, after his Reſurrection, he ſolemnly made this Promiſe unto them: *All power* (ſaith he) *is given unto you, both in Heaven and Earth, go ye therefore, and Teach all Nations Baptizing them, &c. and Teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have Commanded you, and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the World.* Accordingly we read in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, who were the Prophets of the New Teſtament, with what invincible courage and reſolution thoſe poor men appeared before the *Jewiſh*, and *Heathen* Tribunals; and with what aſtoniſhing Preſence, both of body and mind, they bore the name of Jeſus *before the Kings and Princes, and People of the Earth.* I have been the more full in the explication of this notion, becauſe the *Presbyterian* Miniſters have been ſo guilty of applying theſe Promiſes of Divine Preſence, and Aſſiſtance to themſelves, and of talking and acting at ſuch an arrogant rate; as if, like the Prophets, they had been ſent, and employed by God. By this means, they have brought a great Scandal on the Miniſterial Office, and made People loath the Pulpit, and the Church. How often do we find King *James* in the Sixth Book of *Spotswood's Hiſtory*, complaining of the Sawcineſs, and Preſumptuouſneſs of the † Miniſters? with what confidence and authority did they preſume to impoſe their own Injunctions, and Prohibitions upon him, and denounce Judgments againſt him in Gods name, as if they had been ſent to him by Gods expreſs Call, like *Nathan* to King *David*, *Moſes* to *Pharaoh*, and *Elijah* to *Ahab*, *&c.* and he had given them Foreheads of Adamant and Flint. And as they treated him with a Counterfeit ſort of Prophetical boldneſs, liberty and zeal, ſo their Succeſſors who had, and have a double Portion of that rude and inſolent Spirit, have treated his Son, *Charles* the Firſt, and his Grandſon, *Charles* the Second; and ſo they will treat all the Kings that ſhall ſit on this *Britiſh* Throne, as long as there can be found in the Bible any Prophetical Meſſage, Promiſe, or Enterprize, which they can with any colour apply to themſelves.

† *As* Welſh, Bruce, Blake, Balguan, Oud. Davidſon, *and the Miniſters of* Edinburgh. *See alſo Presbytery Diſplayed*, pag. 36. *and* 37. *in the Story of* James Gibſon, *who called the King to his Face before his Privy-Council.* Perſecutor, *and* Jeroboam, *and that he and his Children ſhould be rooted out, and conclude the (Royal) race.*

by ſtudying again *to* † *build that which formerly they did deſtroy.* But let ſuch take heed to that [29] *flying roll in Zechary*, and let all the Lords Servants and Miniſters, take heed that they watch and be ſtedfaſt, and quit themſelves like men and be ſtrong, and that they ſet their Trumpets to their mouths, and give a ſeaſonable and faithful Warning to all Ranks concerning Sin and Duty, eſpecially againſt the Sins of the ſinful Time. It's to be lamented, and it's

† To ſet up Epiſcopacy, which before they had thrown down.

29. *Zachar.* 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. The Prophet relates the Viſion he had of the flying Roll, which was twenty Cubits long, and ten broad, full of Curſes on one ſide againſt Thieves, and on the other againſt *Falſe-Swearers*, which this Deceiver, affecting (as the manner of this ſort of Preachers is) Prophetical Expreſſions, and Confidence, abuſively applies to thoſe, who ſet up, or contributed to ſet up Epiſcopacy, which they had moſt ſinfully abjured. But if the Prophet ſaw a Roll full of Curſes twenty Cubits in length, and ten in breadth, againſt the Thieves, and Falſe-Swearers in the Land, the wicked *Covenanters* may juſtly expect as many Curſes to fall upon their heads, as a Roll ten times longer and broader can contain. Their Rebellions, Treaſons, Murders, Aſſaſſinations, Railings, Slanderings, Perjuries, Blaſphemies, and Schiſms will make it appear at the day of general Judgment, that all the Curſes in the Law are due unto them, when as many of them, as dye without Repentance, ſhall be damned for thoſe very Sins which they blaſphemouſly call *Graces*; and when Jeſus Chriſt *for all their* LORD! LORD! *have we not done and Suffered ſuch things for thy Name, and thy Intereſt*, ſhall ſay unto them, *I know ye not, depart from me ye Hypocrites, ye Blaſphemers of my Name, into everlaſting Burnings, prepared for the Devil and his curſed Angels.*

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ſadly regrated by all of the *Lords People*, that there has been ſo much *ſilence and fainting even* amongſt Miniſters; of how great concernment is it now in this ſad juncture, that Miniſters conſider well, what it is that God calleth for at their hands, *not to be ſilent*, now eſpecially when ſo many horrid and cruel things are acted, when they are ſo much called

30. Behold the Pride, the Spiritual Faſt, and Self-Conceit of the *Presbyterian* Sect, who in all their Printed Books, Sermons, and Diſcourſes, commonly Style themſelves, *The People of the Lord*, *The Godly Party*, *The Saints*, *&c.* as if all others of Reformed Epiſcopal Churches, and Communions, were a wicked, or at beſt but a meer formal ſort of Chriſtians, who did not belong to God. They agree in this Spiritual Arrogance not only with the *Arrians*, *Donatiſts*, and *Novatians* of old, but with the *Papiſts* themſelves, who proudly, and uncharitably call themſelves *Catholicks*, and exclude all others from that Title, and from Salvation, but themſelves.

But to return to the Lords People; I dare boldly ſay, That never any Reformed Biſhop did yet equal, nor any Pope (——————————————————————) exceed the Pride and Inſolence of many of our *Presbyterian Beckets*, as may be ſeen in *Spotswood's* Hiſtory, not to mention others, which I have had occaſion to cite. Was ever any Anſwer more Inſolent than that of Mr. *Robert Bruce*, to King *James*? *Your Majeſty ſhall either loſe the Marqueſs of* Huntly, *or Me*; and yet this Anſwer is defended by Mr. *Robert Bailly* in his *Diſſuaſive from the Errors of the Times*. It is notoriouſly known in *Scotland*, That Mr. *Robert Dugles* of *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *Patrick Gilleſpy* of *Glaſcow*, were more haughty and inſolent in their behaviour, than all the Biſhops (I will not except *Cardinal Beton*) that ever were in the Land. But to proceed; from the Pride of ſingle men, let us reflect a little on the Inſolence of their Spiritual Judicatories, the *Presbytery*, *Synod*, and *General Aſſembly*. It is notoriouſly known what great ſtate the *Presbytery*, or *Conſiſtory* kept with King *James*, and it is upon Record in the *Presbytery-Books* of *Edinburgh*, how his † Majeſty not once, but often hath ſent Perſons of Honour, and great Quality, demanding, or rather requeſting ſome things of them, who have heard the Commiſſioners propoſe the Kings mind; but then to keep the power and place which the *King of Sion* had given them in that dignity which was ſuitable to ſo high a Truſt, they have diſmiſſed the Noblemen ſent by the King, without Anſwer, and by Order of that *Spiritual Houſe*, have appointed one or two, as *Commiſſioners of the Presbytery*, to go to the King with their *Will, and Pleaſure*, loſing nothing of *Chriſt's Authority*, and carrying themſelves with the King, almoſt, as if two Free States, or two Free Princes had met to treat together.

† *Presbytery Diſplayed*, pag. 7, 8. *&c.*

The *Presbytery* of *Edinburgh*, as many yet alive remember, attempted to cenſure the Merchants for Carrying Wheat to *Spain* in a time of Dearth, becauſe it was to feed Gods Enemies; but above all to Tranſport *Wax to Spain*, for that was to be acceſſory to Idolatry, becauſe the Wax for the moſt part was employed in making Tapers, and Candles to the *Virgin Mary*, and other Saints.

* *Presbytery Diſplaid*, pag. 9. 10.

The * *Presbytery* of *St. Andrews* threatned to Excommunicate a man, who had gotten a Judgment from the higheſt Civil Judicatory in the Kingdom, againſt another who ought him a Sum of Money, if he perſiſted to put the Judgment in Execution; and he for fear of this dreadful Court and Sentence, deſiſted from his Purſuit.

Many inſtances might alſo be produced of this holy *Sanhedrim's* repealing of *Royal Grants confirmed by Law*, and of citeing Noblemen, and Gentlemen before them, for Commencing Civil Suits againſt their own Tenants, becauſe it *bred Strifes*, *withdrew the People of God from their lawful Vocations*, and hindered the progreſs of the Goſpel, as may be ſeen in the Author cited in the Margin. They alſo undertook to Remove, and Tranſplant any Miniſter at pleaſure, though never ſo learned and unblameable, upon a pretence, That it was for the Good of the Church, or, That the Congregation was not edified by his Preaching; as may be ſeen in the ſame Author, and as many yet alive can tell.

In their *Provincial Synods*, which conſiſted of Commiſſioners choſen out of all the *Presbyteries* within the Province, they extended their power in proportion to the dignity of the Court; and the Commiſſioners at their Return home, were to ſee that every Miniſter of their reſpective Presbyteries, were to Preach as the Synod did direct, and command

mand. The Nobility and Gentry were forced to court these leading Ministers, and make Addresses to them, as to so many Popes, to strengthen themselves and their Party, with the Spiritual Sword. In their going to, and coming from the Synods, the most Eminent of the Nobility, and Gentry used to meet them, and invite them to their Houses, lodge them in their best Chambers, and set them at the head of their Tables; and never any Bishops in *Scotland* entered Cities with such Convoys, and attended with such great Personages, as these Arch-Presbyters used to do. When Mr. *Robert Bruce* came from his Visitation in the West, or South, he made his Entrance into *Edinburgh* like a Prince, or like an Ambassador, or like the Pope into *Rome*: insomuch, That King *James* once looking out of the Window in his Palace, and seeing his Cavalcade, said with indignation, which extorted an Oath from him, *Mr.* Robert Bruce, *I am sure, intends to be King, and declare himself Heir to King* Robert Bruce.

Their General-Assembly was composed of Commissioners sent from all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom. It was the Supream *Sanhedrim*, wherein the *King of Sion* sate in the highest power and glory he could upon Earth. It was there, where Ecclesiastical Sovereignty, and Infallibility was to be found, and concerned it self in all Temporals, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*. The authority they exercised in it, they pretended to have by immediate Trust from Christ; and declared, That whosoever obeyed not this Sovereignty, be he King or Subject (it was all one) was to be Excommunicated. They allowed the King (or his Commissioner) to sit there, but he had only one *affirmative Voice*, and if the greater part of Voices determined contrary to his Voice, or his Conscience, he was bound to put it in Execution. In this Court, the Spiritual legislative power was seated; it was the highest Tribunal, and Judicatory of Christ upon Earth, from which no Person, no Office, no Condition of Creature was Privileged, and from whence no Appeal could be had.

The King had no power to appoint the time or place of this Assembly, but once a Year it must necessarily meet, and oftner if the Commissioners of Assembly thought fit. They Contemned, Usurped, and renounced the *Sovereign Authority* as it served their Turn; they denounced the same War against their Enemies, which God commanded *Israel* to execute against the *Canaanites*; all the Ministers of the Church were to Preach as they directed, and a Minister Preaching Treason, was to be censured by none, but themselves. They challenged to themselves a power of Condemning, Annulling, and Repealing Acts of Parliament, and of subjecting the Supream Civil Judicatory of the Nation to them; as in the case of *Graham* one of the *Lords of the Session*; and if any man doubt of the truth of these Assertions, let him read the 6th Book of *Spotswood's* History, or the Author of *Presbytery Displayed in the General-Assembly*.

In their General-Assembly 1648. *July* 28. pag. 7. they made an Act, and Declaration against the Act of Parliament and Committee of Estates, and against all Oaths and Bonds imposed in the common Cause, without the Consent of the Kirk. They also Ordained all that engaged in the late Kings Relief, to incur the wrath of God, and to be processed with the highest Censure of the Church, which was the heighth of Blasphemy, Insolence, and Pride.

This Self-Conceit, and Persuasion which they had of their own Spiritual Excellence, and dearness to God, is the true reason why they indulge themselves the liberty of speaking so Contemptibly, Disdainfully, Slanderously, and Reproachfully of the Church, and all that are of Episcopal Communions, without any regard to the Functions or Qualities of Men.

Naphtali rails at the *late King* of Blessed Memory for a Papist, and having an hand in the *Irish Rebellion*; and at his *Present Majesty*, for not punishing the Papists *for Burning of London*, and compares him to *Nebuchadnezzar*, for setting up a Golden Image to be Worshipped, and to *Saul*, and *Uzziah*, for Usurping the Priests-Office, and to *Julian the Apostate*, for destroying the Christian Religion, *pag.* 9. 26, 28. He also calls the Appointing the 29. of *May*, a Profane Institution, and saith, That the Native issue of the Prerogative, is the Establishing the Kingdom of Antichrist, and an Usurpation of the Prerogative of Jesus-Christ; and saith, That the King Erects a Papacy in himself more absurdly than the Pope did; and saith, That he is a stated Antichrist. *Pages* 39, 40, 41, 90.

He Reproaches the *Parliament* pag. 86. saying, That they made the Kings Throne the foundation of Perjury and Apostacy; and *pag.* 87. he saith, That they Blaspheme the Spirit and Work of the Lord, in the Act *For the Anniversary Remembrance of his Majesties*

Majeſties Birth and Reſtauration; and *pages* 2. 93, and 94. he accuſes them all of horrid Apoſtacy, and Rebellion againſt God, and of appointing a Declaration of high Impiety to be Signed; and ſaith, They were the Rebuilders of the Kingdom of Antichriſt.

As for the *Privy-Council*, he calls them Murderers. *Pag.* 123. and *pag.* 91. he ſaith, That they have ſet the King in Chriſts Throne. He rails at the *City of Edinburgh*, for the Engagement they took of their Burgeſſes againſt the Rebels at *Pentland-Hills*, p. 166, 167. and accuſes them of Apoſtacy, and Rebellion againſt God, and threatens them with the *Burning of London*; and *pages* 177, 178. he tells them, They had made a Conſpiracy againſt the Lord, and againſt his Annointed.

As for the *Church-Miniſters*, he calls them *Wolves*, *Thieves*, *Graceleſs Hirelings*, and *Plants* which God never *planted*; and ſaith, It is the indiſpenſable Duty of the People to drive them away, and root them up, *page* 108.

The Author of the *Apologetick Narration*, calls the Honourable *Senators of the College of Juſtice*, Perjured Men, and the Vileſt of Men, from whom no Juſtice can be expected, and who are not worthy to be Judges among the Heathens, *&c.* and all becauſe they have taken the Declaration againſt the *Covenant*. *Pages* 328, 329.

The General-Aſſembly 1648. in their Supplication to the late King, (*Auguſt* 12.) who was then under impriſonment, hath theſe words: *It ſhall be your Majeſties Wiſdom in this, as in all that hath befallen you theſe Years paſt, to read the righteous hand of the Lord, writing bitter things againſt you: as for all your provocations, ſo eſpecially for your reſiſting his Work, and authorizing by your Commiſſions, the ſhedding the bloud of his People; for which it is high time to repent, that there may be no more wrath againſt You, and Your Realms.* And *page* 58. of that Supplication, they ſay: *Had your Majeſty hearkened to our Counſel ſome years ago, the bloud of many thouſands, that now lies upon your Throne, might have been ſpared.*

The Aſſembly and Parliament in their Declaration againſt *Montroſs*, Printed 1649. *pages* 7, 8, *&c.* call him *Excommunicate Traitor*, *Viperous Brood of Satan*, Child of the Devil, perfidious proud Atheiſt, and Traitour, though he had the Kings Commiſſion for all that he did, and was a man of as eminent Piety, as Valour.

The Aſſembly of Divines at *London*, with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners drew up a Letter in *Latine*, and the ſame did the General-Aſſembly in *Scotland*, which by order of the *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons, (for ſo they called themſelves) they ſent to the *Belgick*, *French*, *Helvetian*, and other Reformed Churches; wherein they aſſure them, That the King made it his whole buſineſs to root out the Proteſtant Religion, and uſed all means poſſible to reduce the Nation to Popery again.

I know a Gentleman, who hath a Letter pretended to be written from *Paris* in the name of the *French-Church*, dated *June* 5. 1662. wherein they call the *Parliament of* Scotland *an ungodly Aſſembly*, *a Seed of Evil Doers*, *that gather themſelves together againſt the Souls of the Righteous*, *and condemn Innocent Bloud*; *that ſlay the upright*, *and breath out Blaſphemies againſt the Heavens*, *&c.* But the Style of this Letter demonſtrates, That it was written by ſome Weſtern Fanatick, and Fathered on the *French Church*.

In the Declaration of the Lords and Commons of *England*, ſent to the General-Aſſembly 1643. *page* 9. they affirm, That the King and the Prelatical Party in *England* were in Arms for the ruining, and deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, and all the Profeſſors thereof; and in the *Engliſh* Miniſters Letter to the Aſſembly *page* 10. they call the King, and his Party, a generation of Britiſh, Helliſh Men; and *page* 17. they affirm, That the Prelatical Party are combined for the univerſal depreſſion of the true Proteſtant Religion in *Europe*.

Naphtali pag. 117, 118. ſaith, *That the Biſhops are favourers and encouragers of all Profaneneſs*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Adultery*, *Blaſphemy*, *and that they have heaped together in their own Perſons the Dunghill of vileſt Vices*, *and tranſmitted the ſame over all the Land*; and the whole Fanatical Gang rail juſt now at the preſent Biſhops, as their Predeceſſors did at the Biſhops 1638. *Page* 300. he accuſes *Archbiſhop Burnet*, (now the moſt worthy Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*) of furious Zeal, Pride, Ambition, and Contempt of his Clergy, and domineering over them; though he is known in both Nations to be one of the moſt Moderate, Meek, and Humble Men on the Earth, and one that loves and cheriſhes his Clergy like a Father, and as a Father is beloved and reverenced by them again. He alſo calls the *Biſhop of the Iſles*, who is a man of eminent

nent Temperance, a Glutton; and the Biſhop of *Dunkell*, who was a moſt Pious Man, and lover of true Piety in other Men; an hater of Godlineſs, and Good Men. And as for the *Curates*, (as he calls the regular Clergy) he calls them in general Men void of the Fear of God, Drunkards, Whoremongers, and what not? *pag.* 302. And at this rate the whole Sect talks of Biſhops, Epiſcopacy, the Clergy and the Church, and he that can ſpeak with moſt Venom and Malice againſt them and the King, and the Duke of *Lauderdale*, is counted the greateſt Saint

Mr. *Andrew Cant*, Eldeſt Son of old Mr. *Andrew Cant*, and the true inheritor of his Fathers violent Spirit, was depoſed by the Synod of *Aberdeen*, from his Miniſtery at *Banchrie*, for railing at the King, the Queen, and the Biſhops, not long after his Majeſties Reſtauration. *He ſaid, The Maintaining of Biſhops againſt Gods Will, had tried the Kings Predeceſſors, and if he ſhould be ſo foolish as to ſet them up again, down he ſhould go, do what he could.* He ſaid, *That her Majeſty was a Vagabond Woman, compaſſing Sea and Land to proſecute her wicked Deſigns, and* (like a true *Presbyterian* Curſing *Meroz*) *Wiſht the Croſs, if not the Curſe of God to accompany her.*

Mr. *Welſh*, as *Ravill. Rediv.* relates, *page* 45. in a Preachment to a Multitude of 7000. People, ſpoke theſe words, *The King, the Nobles, and the Prelates are ſure the Murderers of Chriſt*; and then ſitting down in his Chair, he ſaid, *Oh People I will be ſilent, ſpeak oh People, and tell me what good thing the King hath done ſince his home coming; yea, hath he not done all the miſchief a Tyrant could do?* At another Conventicle not long after, he ſpoke thus, or to this purpoſe, *That God would yet aſſert the Cauſe of* Pentland-hills, *in ſpite of the Curates, and their Maſters the Prelates, and in ſpite of the Prelates, and their Maſter the King, and in ſpite of the King, and his Maſter the Devil.*

This Spirit of Railing, Slandering, and Reproaching, hath always been the Gift and privilege of this People of the Lord, from their firſt Original to this day. *For*, John Knox *in his Appeal and Admonitions Printed* 1644. calls Queen *Mary Stuart*, a Wicked, Miſchievous, Proud, Falſe, Diſſembling, Unconſtant Woman, a breaker of Promiſes, a Traitoreſs to the Crown of *England*; and calls her Reign, a Monſtriferous Empire of a wicked Woman, an Uſurped Government, *&c* and cll Mr. *John Welſh*, Grandfather to the Villain before mentioned, in a Sermon ſaid, That King *James* was poſſeſt with the Devil, and compared him to a Mad Man, *&c.* And Mr. *Blake* in a Sermon at St. *Andrews* 1596. as *Spotswood* cites him in his 6*th.* Book *page* 423. ſaid, *That all Kings were the Devils Bairns, That the Kings heart was Treacherous*, and *That the Devil was in the Court, and Guiders of it*; That Queen *Elizabeth* was an *Atheiſt*; That the Nobles, and Lords were *Miſcreants, Godleſs, Degenerate, Diſſemblers, and Enemies to the Church*; That the Privy-Council were *Holliglaſſes, Cormorants, and men of no Religion.* For all which, notwithſtanding, the Kirk would not let him be queſtioned, becauſe it was delivered in the Pulpit.

Accordingly, we ſtill find how that evil Spirit haunts the holy Sect at this day, in Lying, Slandering, Reproaching, and Back-biting all that love, or defend the Church. In particular, I cannot but obſerve, what monſtrous and malicious Lies and Calumnies they and their Patriots have for ſome years, almoſt daily raiſed againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he ſtands as a Work of Defence between *the Projectors againſt the Government and the King, between* Presbytery *and* Epiſcopacy, Popery *and the Church.* And therefore we need not wonder at that Speech of King *James* (who was experimentally acquainted with the *Presbyterian* Spirit) to Dr. *Reinolds* at *Hampton Court*, who begged of his Majeſty a *Presbytery*, or a Conſtitution very like it: *Stay I pray you for one ſeven Years before you demand that of me, and if you find me purſey, and fat, and my windpipes ſtuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that Government once be up, I am ſure I ſhall be kept in breath, and then we ſhall all of us have work enough, both our handfulls; but,* Dr. Reinolds, *till you find I grow lazy, let that alone. Presbytery Diſplayed* pag. 7. And ſo much for the *Lords People.*

and ought to be concerned to [31] *ſpeak even upon the peril of Life.* It's certainly a dreadful Sin in the ſight of God. I ſhall only deſire that

31. As if they were Apoſtles, and the Chriſtian, or Proteſtant Religion depended upon their Breath.

God may open the mouths of ſome of his faithful Servants, that with all [32] *boldneſs they may* ſpeak out the mind of their Maſter, that ſo the *Work*, *Intereſt*, *Crown*, and *Kingdom* of our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* may not be deſtroyed, and that the [33] *Souls of poor People* which are precious to God may not be, without a Teſtimony, Ruined. I ſhall add but 2 or 3 words more; Firſt, all that are profane, I would exhort you ſeriouſly that ye would return to the Lord by ſincere repentance; if ye do, iniquity ſhall not be your ruine; if not, know that the day of the [34] *Lords Vengeance* is near, and it haſtneth on. O know for your comfort, that there is a door of mercy yet opened, if ye be not deſpiſers of the day of Salvation: and ye that have been and yet are Reproachers and Perſecutors of Godlineſs, and ſuch as live Godly, take heed, take heed, ſad will your day be, when [35] *God ariſeth* to ſcatter his Enemies, if ye repent not of all your ungodly deeds. 2*ly*. All thoſe that are *Gallios*, if their own private Intereſts proſper and go well, they care the leſs for the *Intereſt of Chriſt*, take heed, be zealous, and repent leſt the Lord paſs that Sentence, *I will ſpue you out of my mouth*. 3*ly*. As for the truly Godly, and ſuch as are lamenting after the Lord, and are mourning for all the abominations done in the City and in the Land, and are taking pleaſure [36] *in the rubbiſh, and ſtones of Zion*, be of good courage, and caſt not away your Confidence; I dare not ſay any thing to future things, but ſurely the Lord has a [37] *handful that is precious to him, whom he will be gracious to*. This is a dark night, how long it may laſt the Lord knows. O let not all the ſad diſaſters, that his poor People are truſted with (though very aſtoniſhing) terrifie them. Beware of Snares that abound; cleave faſt to your *Covenanted* reformed Religion; do not ſhift the Croſs of Chriſt, if ye be called into it, it's better to

32. Impudence; See Note ( )

33. As if the Salvation of the People depended on the mouths of theſe Blaſphemous *Pſeudo-Miniſters*.

34. Viz. *By the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon*; for as this People think themſelves the People of God in as *peculiar a ſence as the* Jews *were*: ſo, like them too, they pretend to be *Carnifices gentium*, which made them call their Standard, Chriſts Banner, and march with Gallows of the common Make for the common ſort of the Enemies of God; but for the Nobles that durſt Oppoſe Chriſt and his People, they had invented a new ſort of Machine, with Hooks and Spikes, whereupon, firſt they intended to Hang them up, and then to ſet up their Quarters and Heads as Traitors and Rebels to Jeſus Chriſt.

35 In the Old-Teſtament, *Jewiſh* ſence, to ſcatter his Enemies by the Sword of his People.

36. The Rubbiſh, and Ruines of the *Presbyterian* Government, upon which they ſtrive to build the whole old Fabrick again, as the *Jews* endeavoured to Rebuild the Temple on its old Foundation in *Zion*, till Earthquakes, Fire, and Lightnings made them deſiſt from the curſed Work.

37. An handful of Precious, Zealous, Militant Saints, of whom every ſingle man thinks he can chaſe Ten of Chriſts Enemies, and Two put Ten thouſand of them to Flight.

Suffer

Suffer than to Sin; account *the* [38] *Reproaches of Christ greater* Riches than the Treasures of the World. In the last place, let not my Death be grievous to any of you; I hope it will be more profitable both for you and for the *Church and Interest of God*, than my life could have been; I bless the Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive all men the guilt of it, as I desire to be forgiven of God. Pray for them that Persecute you, and bless them that Curse you. As for the Cross of Christ, I bless the Lord, I never had cause, nor have cause this day to repent for any thing I have Suffered, or can now Suffer for his name. I thank the Lord who has shewn mercy to such a vile Sinner as I am, that ever he should have advanced me to such a high dignity, as to be *made a* [39] *Minister of the Blessed and Everlasting Gospel*, or that ever I should have a [40] *Seal set to my Ministery upon the hearts* of some in several corners of this Land. The Lord visit *Scotland* with more and more *faithful Preaching*, and send a reviving day to the Work and People of God; and in the mean time be patient, be stedfast, immovable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord, and live in love and peace one with another, and the Lord be with his poor afflicted groaning People that are left behind.

Now I bid farewel to all my Friends and dear Relations. Farewel my poor Wife and Child, whom I leave on the good hand of him who is better than Seven Husbands, and who will be a Father to the Fatherless. Farewel all Created Comforts, and Welcom Everlasting life, Everlasting glory, Everlasting Love, and Everlasting praise; bless the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within Me, praise his holy Name.

John King.

38. Consider how blasphemously this Text is applied.

39. He was never made a Minister, either immediately by God, as the Apostles were, or by men Commissioned from God, as the Episcopal Ministers are, nor by men not Commissioned by God, I mean by *Presbyters* in a case of absolute necessity, (which is the only case that can justifie *Presbyterian* Ordination;) but by men who were themselves Schismaticks, and Usurpers of the Ministery, even as he himself is.

40. He calls the Delusion of so many poor People, in following him into the Hills, and from the Hills into Rebellion, *The Seal of his Ministery upon their hearts.* According to which Sence, the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, and *Missionary Jesuits*, nay *Mahomet* himself, may be said to have had a Seal set to their Ministery upon the hearts of the ignorant Multitudes, whom they deceived.

Having finished my Animadversions, I now proceed to give a true, and brief Narrative of the horrid Murther of the late Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, as a further Commentary on the Whole.

A True and Short

NARRATIVE

Of the Horrid

MURDER

Of the Reverend Father in God,

James, Archbiſhop

OF

St. Andrews,

Primate, and Metropolitan of all

SCOTLAND,

And one of His Majeſties moſt Honourable

Privy-Council,

On the Third of *May* 1669.

Drawn out of the Records of the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, and from the Depoſitions of many Witneſſes Examined upon Oath before that Honourable Board, and the Sheriff-Deputy of *Fife*, in which Shire the Murder was Committed.

LONDON,
Printed by *H. Hills*, in the Year 1680.